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NUMBER 1

Sociological Training.....Robert A. Polson

Ceylonese Value System.....Bryce Ryan

Norwegian Mountain Valley.....Fredrik Barth

Organized Farmers in Oklahoma.....Robert A. Rohrer

Farm Versus Village Living.....Mervin J. Taves

Functions of Health Care Agencies.....George J. Brower

Research Notes

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SOCIOLOGICAL TRAINING FOR PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE FROM OTHER CULTURES*

by Robert A. Polson†

ABSTRACT

This paper emphasizes the importance of training foreign students in a manner that will enable them to effectively carry on their professional duties in their home countries. Changes needed in graduate school programs to more effectively train foreign students are described. The five major changes suggested are: (1) Give more consideration to language facility and living conditions so that they will support rather than detract from the students' training program; (2) use more intercultural data in classroom presentations; (3) get the students off the campus for more systematic observation of and contact with American family and community life; (4) experiment with doing more of the training work in the field; (5) provide more training opportunities in the application of social science to problem-solving.

New international responsibilities of the United States place upon us obligations to train more foreign students than in the past and to train more American students for foreign assignments. This training is now more than a phase of our government's international policy. It is in a real sense one of the defenses of democratic government wherever it may exist. There is an urgency about this training that we were not aware of a few years ago.

It was pleasant to sit by the side of the road and comment on world events, but we no longer have this idle privilege. As educators, we find ourselves in the midst of world-wide competition for the minds of men. As social scientists, we are expected to make our teaching, research, and consulting work help solve the problems of the world we live in.

The preparation of American students for foreign service and the training of foreign students for professional service in their native cultures are relatively new assignments for many of

us. It is true that some of our graduate school programs have for many years included foreign students. I think we accepted them, however, as we did any other student and let them get what they could from our program of study, a program that was and still is highly provincial in many respects.

Let us examine for a moment the size of the task. It has been reported that there are 31,000 foreign students from 121 countries in American colleges this year.¹ Thirty-five hundred of them are majoring in the social sciences. Many are our advisees, perhaps 500. This is an unusual opportunity to influence future international affairs. Some of America's best friends in other lands, as well as a few of its enemies, are alumni of our universities. A famous example of the latter is the man who became Foreign Minister of Japan in 1940. While we are making sociologists, we can, if we are thoughtful, be making friends.

The training of graduate students is our primary task in preparing professional social scientists for other cul-

*Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1951.

†Cornell University.

¹Data from the *Annual Census of Foreign Students in the United States, 1950-51*, published by the Institute of International Education, New York, 1951.

tures—granted that it should not be done at the expense of the undergraduates.

Permit me to sketch this training task at Cornell University where I know it best. We had on the campus last year 353 foreign students from 66 countries—approximately 200 of them enrolled for graduate studies. Ten of these majored with the staff members in sociology and anthropology or rural sociology. In addition, there were ten United States students training for professional service in other cultures. The remaining 25 graduate majors were for the most part pursuing a program of preparation for an American university job.

The training programs for these three groups of graduate students differ enough for each to receive special consideration. I will comment only upon the students who come to us from other cultures for professional training—students who will function in their own cultures, not ours.

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT TO NEW LIVING ROUTINES

You who have lived in societies quite different from our own will appreciate the problems the foreign student faces when he first arrives—a new language, strange food, unfamiliar housing arrangements. So many of our students have told me these elemental problems of living have interfered with their academic work that I am going to take a few minutes to review them.

One of the early hurdles for most students is acquiring facility in spoken and written English. A normal reading assignment for English-speaking graduate students is a major task in the early stages of graduate work for our foreign students.

American slang and colloquialisms are always a problem. They creep into our informal seminars and the frequent "bull sessions" of graduate students, as well as into professors' lec-

tures. Following a recent phonetics lecture, a serious-minded Latin-American student was overheard asking, "What is a 'do-hickey'?" Another illustration: One of our graduate students a few years ago was being helped in his reading and pronunciation of the English language by the secretary of our department. Each morning he brought in a list of words for her to pronounce and define. One morning he walked in and asked for the definition of the word "necking" and was quite surprised when she blushed.

Too frequently we give students from other cultures a full course-load before they have mastered an English vocabulary or the technical vocabulary of sociology. A light course-load and more informal learning experiences would probably speed up orientation and would be more effective than submerging the student in reading and lectures he does not understand. A worthy suggestion was made by one of our Egyptian students. He recommended that his fellow countrymen arrive on the campus early in the summer and spend two to three months in intensive language training before starting courses in the fall. When speed was the major problem, our university reading clinic has been helpful in improving reading ability.

The problem of housing is serious, particularly when our foreign students encounter discriminatory practices because of race, color, or parenthood. Most universities try to help students by furnishing lists of recommended rooms or by housing them in college facilities. Whatever the official arrangement may be, there is no substitute for interest and early action, by the student's advisor if necessary, to insure housing that supports rather than interferes with training. A significant aspect of housing is indicated by thoughtful students who request an opportunity to live in American homes rather than in dormitories or in cosmo-

politan houses. Some of them feel quite isolated from American life when they are housed as a group of foreign students. They learn something about one another's cultures, to be sure, but they have little opportunity for first-hand observation of American family life. I have received some very strong recommendations that foreign students not be housed in dormitories or in international houses for their entire college experience in America.

Arrangements that permit the student to live in a private home seem to help speed up his personal adjustment to our culture. If living with a family is not possible, the foreign student's participation in holiday customs in American homes at such times as Thanksgiving and Christmas is perhaps an acceptable alternative. I think we have had more comments from our majors about the holiday parties in our faculty homes than we have had about any other phase of their campus social life.

Another set of practices that seem helpful in maintaining the morale of graduate students, particularly in the early stages of their experience in this country, are those designed to keep them in touch with elements of their own culture. Sometimes it is possible for them to maintain contact through religious services or meeting with groups of their countrymen for special occasions. It is often possible to find opportunities for the student to talk about his culture in seminar groups, at informal social occasions, and at the meetings of service clubs, fraternities, church groups, and farmers' organizations.

The isolation of graduate students, particularly the social isolation by academic departments, is educationally restrictive. Our students ask for help in meeting those from other departments and for contacts with non-academic groups in our community. They also ask for opportunities to make visits to

farm homes and to accompany our extension staff on trips to various parts of New York State. None of these are difficult requests to meet if we are sensitive to the students' needs.

The training of foreign students, I believe, can be considerably improved by giving more attention to their early adjustment in our culture—at least to the point of insuring that living conditions and language skills do not seriously interfere with the training program. Campus-wide orientation weeks, foreign-student counselors, and cosmopolitan clubs, valuable as they may be in this regard, are no substitute for the personal consideration we can give a student in our role as his advisor.

ACADEMIC ADJUSTMENTS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Graduate students accustomed to a system of higher education that emphasizes lectures and comprehensive examinations say their greatest academic adjustment in America is to our emphasis on day-to-day and week-to-week assignments. A surprise to some students is the practice of not always sticking to the textbook in preparing questions for quizzes or examinations. One such student reported to me that if a professor in his country asked questions on material not in the textbook it was considered unethical and that the student had the right to appeal to higher authorities.

The informality that usually exists in our staff-graduate student relations is often unexpected, but it is very much appreciated. Also, I have heard more statements of surprise and pleasure expressed by foreign students about the personal attention they receive from their major professor than about most other phases of our academic life.

There is a problem of adjustment, however, to the informal discussion procedures used in our recitation groups and in our seminars. Many students come to our country with the ex-

pectation that if a professor is present the student must keep quiet, and that the student should always defer to the professor. There are similar expectations on the part of some of our professors, but I think they are in the minority and that most of us strive for student participation in our small classes and seminars.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE TRAINING PROGRAM

The content of many of our courses is regionally or nationally oriented. There is often little cross-culture comparative data, and we give slight attention to the application of our material in other countries, or even to warnings of what is unique in our culture that may not apply in others. In fact, we often leave it up to the student to arrive at the principles that may apply in a variety of cultures but are illustrated by the regional and national material we study. I think I can say rather confidently that this criticism is particularly applicable to many courses in the family, urban sociology, and rural sociology. The use of these localized data is very helpful in the training of American students for specific professional fields. Its emphasis, however, often leads foreign students to be rather critical of the value of American training. Those who come with the idea they will get what they can that is useful in their countries are not disappointed; but the student who comes with the assumption that he is going to get specific training for problems in his country frequently leaves disappointed.

It is my assumption that our goal is to train students from other cultures in a manner to help them function as social scientists in their own countries. This implies quite a different program from one that merely permits them to learn about America while they are here and to pick up what they can in courses we offer. It seems to me, if you

agree with my assumption, that we are obligated to adjust, as much as possible, the student's training to his needs in his culture, rather than confine him to a series of learning experiences prepared for people who will work in our culture. One of the first adjustments we can make in our teaching is to use more comparative cultural materials, both for foreign students and for Americans who are going to work in other countries.

Field trips of an intensive nature that permit students to become acquainted with one community and how it functions seem to be particularly helpful in orienting them to American life and in giving them a frame of reference for discussions in the classrooms. More extensive field trips that permit regional comparison are also much prized by those who have the opportunity to take them. These may or may not be directly related to classroom training, but they help the student learn to observe and to relate reading to meaningful observation.

Early experience in research field work or participation in action programs are particularly helpful. They permit brief but direct contact with typical elements of our population. This, however, is ordinarily possible only for students who are fluent in the English language at the time they arrive on the campus.

If our students are to do applied work when they return home, they should by all means see and experience the application of social sciences to problem-solving in this country. We get considerable demand from our rural sociology graduate students at Cornell for this type of training, and, frankly, I think the comparative lack of such training is one of the weakest phases of our program. This kind of training is difficult to schedule, time-consuming to arrange, hard to finance, and, from the traditional point of view, academically irregular. But it should

be an essential phase in the professional preparation of many students.

A little supervised teaching experience in the preparation of lectures and in the methods of informal teaching in small groups is an exceedingly useful phase of professional training. More of our foreign students should have this experience.

I believe we all emphasize research training. All too frequently, however, we permit foreign students to do a library research project. This is easiest for them, to be sure, but I think we should admit that it is also a great deal easier for us than a field research project that has to be financed, guided, and carefully supervised. These difficulties do not deny the importance to the student of training in planning, designing, conducting field work, and preparing a thesis for publication. In many cases a field research project does require supplementary financing, particularly in the state colleges where it is difficult to incorporate foreign students into some of the on-going Experiment Station projects. Part of this difficulty, however, is our fear of the ability of such students to handle the public relations aspect of field work among rural citizens. To a considerable degree we are justified in this fear; but if our own public relations are what they should be, I am sure we can find ways to introduce foreign students to rural communities so that they can do satisfactory field work.

AREA TRAINING PROGRAMS

A discussion of the training of foreign students is incomplete without some consideration of the new area training programs in our universities. This type of work is a growing phenomenon, and I am sure we will see more of our universities participating in it, in response to the need of government and business for area research scholars and specialists. At present

the demand for these specialists is far ahead of the facilities for training.

The present status of area training is presented in a report prepared for the Social Science Research Council by W. C. Bennett of Yale, entitled *Area Studies in American Universities* and released a few weeks ago. The *New York Times*, of August 19, 1951, contains an article by Murray Illson, who comments: "Professor Bennett's report contains alarming implications of an America seriously handicapped in its international relations because of a lack of specialists trained in geography, language, customs, and social structure of the eight major geographical areas." The areas referred to are the Soviet Union, the Far East, the Near East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America. Last spring, when Professor Bennett polled twenty-eight major universities, he found 669 graduate students taking integrated area studies in these eight geographic areas. His report gives the following breakdown:

Russia	246
Far East	205
Latin America	85
Europe	43
Southeast Asia	30
Near East	27
South Asia	20
Africa	13

These area programs have as their primary focus, I believe, the training of American students for foreign service. A well-integrated area program, however, is a tremendous asset in training foreign students. When field research is a part of the program it is often possible to arrange for foreign students to collect field data for a thesis in their own cultures. This is a great asset to their professional preparation. The presence of students in the classroom from the geographic area being studied materially aids instruction. They contribute considerable informa-

tion about their culture and thus facilitate comparisons with the American social system.

CORNELL'S EXPERIENCE

The content of two of our rural sociology seminars at Cornell, one on the Rural Community and the other on Comparative Rural Social Life, has been materially enriched over the years by the contributions of our foreign students.

Some of our best learning situations are in those seminars where we have county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, sociologists, anthropologists, students training for foreign service, and representatives of other cultures around the seminar table discussing how to bring about improved practices in agriculture, health, or homemaking in the countries from which the students come. The presence of persons differing in cultural background, professional training, and experience, contributes to more rapid learning and encourages more emphasis upon principles.

I have mentioned the need for professional training in the application of social sciences to problem-solving. As stated by the President's Commission for Higher Education: "We need men in education who can apply at the point of social action what the social scientist has discovered regarding the laws of human behavior."² A great many of our foreign students and American students who are going to work in other countries will be involved in research and applied programs that have to do with the introduction of change in under-industrialized cultures. We are obligated, in my opinion, to prepare them for this responsibility. How are we going to

insert this into their graduate training program?

I would like to describe for you two experimental projects that look rather promising. These are sponsored by the cultural anthropologists at Cornell. First is the Seminar on Case Studies in Applied Anthropology. This seminar, which meets weekly on the Agricultural College campus, begins with an analysis by the staff of some actual cases taken from their own field experience. These cases illustrate both the problems of cultural resistance to technological change and some of the principles to be used in solving these problems.

"The students are then guided by the staff in working toward well-founded solutions for problems in their own areas of geographical or subject interest. Thus a group interested in various parts of Latin America will work under the direction of Professor Holmberg in making an analysis of the Mexican Agricultural Program of the Rockefeller Foundation, in a context of actual Mexican economic, social, and psychological conditions. They work with such Cornell specialists as Professors Holmberg in anthropology, DeGraff in agricultural economics, and Bradfield in soil science, who have a first-hand knowledge of the project in its cultural and technical . . . aspects. Another group will work directly with Thai informants on the campus on the problems involved in developing and getting Siamese to adopt an optimum diet. They will be aided by Professor Sharp, anthropology, Professor Hazel Hauck, nutrition, and an advanced Siamese student in agricultural economics. A third group, including an Indian civil engineer, and an Indian agricultural extension worker, will work under Professor Opler on a problem of rural reconstruction in India. By means of written or oral reports, each seminar

² *Higher Education for American Democracy*, Vol. 1, *Establishing the Goals* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 91.

member benefits from such case analyses made by others.³

This seminar has completed its third year. The responsibility for it rests with the anthropologists, but the faculty from other disciplines participate actively. The course has so far attracted 80 students, with subject-matter interests in such fields as agricultural science, nutrition, engineering, agricultural economics, labor relations, public administration, education, agricultural extension, missionary work, rural sociology, applied anthropology, and the United States foreign service.

The second training experiment I would like to describe is the Southwest Field Laboratory in Applied Anthropology. This is the third year of this experimental project of intensive training in the field.

"This seminar is designed to demonstrate under actual field conditions in the American Southwest how social science knowledge and skills may be brought to bear in the conduct of programs of technological change concerned with raising standards of living in underdeveloped areas. As a contribution toward this aim, the field course is given for men and women with professional training in such disciplines as public health, medicine, nutrition, agriculture, extension work, public administration, and engineering.

"The American Southwest was chosen as the training area because of the tremendous diversity of its human resources and its similarity to other underdeveloped regions of the world. Here, readily available to American students and to foreign students studying in the United States, we find peoples emerging from tribal forms of social organization with a rapidly chang-

ing economic life; systems of barter are giving way to cash and wage economy. The population has outgrown the land base, which, debilitated by overuse, has become subject to the forces of erosion. The government agent must deal with the people across linguistic barriers and across the gulf of differing value systems which cross-cultural administration entails. In these ways the student faces situations much like those he will encounter in other world regions.

"Each student was advised at the outset to suppose that a competent colleague in his own professional field has suddenly received an important appointment to develop a program in a foreign area. The colleague has no training in human relations or anthropology; so the student decides to write for him a handbook of fundamental principles which he can read on the journey to his new appointment. The student must illustrate those principles with actual experiences, and observations derived from the course.

"During the first week the students were given reading assignments in human relations and applied anthropology. Experts from the area addressed the group. There were seminar sessions in which cases of technological change were presented, role-playing was carried out, and theoretical frames of reference were discussed. Time was also given to practical problems of interviewing and to helping the technical man discover how he can be his own anthropologist.

"Toward the end of the first week, teaching focused on a specific ethnic group, the Navaho, and the government programs now in effect among them. In the second week the class visited the Navaho country and interviewed people at various levels in the Navaho administration, the Indian leaders and the Indian rank and file. There was also opportunity to talk to traders and non-Indians in the larger

³ *Studies in Culture and Applied Science*. Progress Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1949-50, prepared by the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University). Quoted from Appendix A.

society that surrounds the reservation. From these various points of view the student can deduce for himself the human problems in any program from public health to agricultural development and gain insight regarding the social, cultural, and psychological factors that require attention. The student also learns how to carry out interviewing, how to be a good listener, how to get many different opinions in order to approximate the truth, and how to analyze the material he gets in terms of practical social science principles.

"From the Navaho, the seminar moved to a different group, the Rio Grande Indian Pueblos, and, after a week there, to the isolated Spanish-American villages in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The cultural groups selected vary from year to year; but, in any event, three contrasting communities are chosen that differ from each other as much as Lapps, Irishmen, and Italians. In each, the student repeats the same approach and is able to see for himself that some principles of human relations have a wide, almost universal, validity.

"The fifth and last week of the course is devoted to writing the handbook of advice for the hypothetical friend. At all stages through the entire five weeks, frequent seminars are held in order to discuss and integrate the findings of the members.

"It is hard to evaluate success, but we have derived considerable satisfaction from feeling that exposure to this kind of experience has opened a new world to some of our students and we have watched them change consider-

ably in their understanding and approach to their problems."⁴

This experiment of a seminar in the field warrants adaptation to a wide variety of subject-matter training in the social sciences. It lends itself particularly well to summer activities, perhaps in conjunction with our summer schools. Think what it would mean to our foreign graduate students if, say the second summer they were here, they could spend six weeks studying two or three small American communities in a systematic program of field work, discussions, lectures, and preparation of reports!

SUMMARY

Out of these numerous comments I would like to recommend for your consideration five ways to improve the training of our foreign graduate students:

1. Give more consideration to language facility and living conditions so that they will support rather than detract from the student's training program.
2. Use more intercultural comparative data in classroom presentations.
3. Get the students off the campus for more systematic observation and contact with American family and community life.
4. Experiment with doing more of the training work in the field.
5. Provide more training opportunities in the application of social science to problem-solving.

⁴ *Ibid.* Quoted from Appendix B.

THE CEYLONESE VILLAGE AND THE NEW VALUE SYSTEM*

by Bryce Ryan†

ABSTRACT

Distributions of information and of attitudes were assayed by field interviews in four villages representing varying degrees of contact with Western influence. Knowledge questions dealt with world affairs, national economy and government, and mechanical experience. Attitude queries explored conceptions of social status, democratic political values, economic traditionalism, and family organization. The level of information is low generally, and varies more with status or educational level than among the villages. Acceptance of secular and Western values is well begun and appears to embrace all aspects of life rather than being limited to technology or any other single sphere.

PART I. DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWLEDGE

Ceylon, with many neighboring nations, is emerging from an ancient peasant order dominated by feudalism, caste, autocracy, and ethnic and local communalism, with their underlying static technology and pervasive supernaturalism. These ancient civilizations are being reoriented to values and institutions consistent with the techniques and social policies of modern democratic states. The emerging adjustments are truly revolutionary, and although the values may be borrowed from the West the accommodative patterns must be homespun and unique.

The present inquiry explores the consistency of Ceylonese village attitudes and information with some of the probable requirements of this profound transformation. Polling of information and attitudes through formal questions and schedules is a novel technique in this milieu, and only the approximation of a reconnaissance of

villagers' positions toward a new value system can be claimed for the results.¹

THE ISSUES

The decision to investigate the distribution of knowledge among villagers rested on certain assumptions: (1) Universal suffrage presupposes elemental understanding of national and international affairs. (2) Such acquaintance provides evidence of the replacement of localism by an intellectual climate congenial to nationalism. (3) Prospective technological development requires that villagers have some experience with tools and comprehension of elementary scientific principles. The questions used were both elementary and relevant to Ceylonese affairs.

Similarly, the attitude questions stemmed from certain assumptions: (1) The traditional stress on birth status is incompatible with individual attainment and freedom. (2) Traditional family organization is a hindrance to expected trends toward individuation of action, sex equality, and

*One of a series of studies under the auspices of the Department of Sociology of the University of Ceylon. A supplementary grant from the Division of Medicine and Public Health of the Rockefeller Foundation was of much help. The writer is indebted to Mr. L. D. Jayasena for his assistance in planning this study and to Prof. C. Arnold Anderson for his generous "editing down" of the manuscript to reasonable length.

†University of Ceylon.

¹Detailed evaluation of the technique will appear separately. Specific questions were written only after extended gauging of villagers' thinking. Senior and graduate students, most of whom came from the same localities, did the interviewing in the local tongue. These interviewers were thoroughly instructed in their approach, and comprehension by respondents was checked by "why" questions.

birth control.² (3) Feudal authority and relationships are inconsistent with democratic administration. (4) Economic expansion and rational economic decisions require the abandonment of a familistic, peasant-subsistence economy.

In assuming changes from a "sacred" to a "secular" society, one recognizes that the views of Ceylonese peasants are not concretely wholly antithetical to those of, say, American villagers. Peasants are not immune to new ideologies nor are the old values wholly in conflict with the new. The aim of this research is to ascertain where the villagers of this advanced South Asian country stand today with reference to the types of knowledge and attitudes implied in the social changes already underway.³

THE VILLAGES STUDIED

Identical schedules were used for male marital-family heads in villages of four localities where intensive studies had been underway and the confidence of the people obtained. *Thunnalai South* was in the Tamil-Hindu Jaffna Peninsula; the other three were Sinhalese; *Pelpola* in the urban-influenced Low Country; *Wattapola* (and its adjoining village) only three miles from a major highway but

in the presumably conservative Kandyan highlands; *Bullupitiya* in a remote jungle district in the heart of the Vedda country (Wellassa Division) of Uva Province.⁴

Salient traits of each village from the standpoint of external and urbanizing contacts are summarized in Table 1. Although *Pelpola* is only 35 miles from Colombo, it has fewer secondary contacts with the outside world than either *Wattapola* or *Thunnalai* and fewer direct contacts with the city. *Pelpola*'s educational status is lower also, more through disinterest than poverty. The heterogeneity of the *Thunnalai* population occupationally, educationally, and in caste is noteworthy. This is the only village with a large proportion of white-collar people, about a third being in semi-professional or higher vocations. (Probably this upper group is overrepresented in the sample, though not sufficiently to dismiss these data; *Thunnalai*'s "progressiveness" is overstated.) Only half of *Thunnalai*'s sample are cultivators, in contrast to nearly all for *Bullupitiya*, 85% in *Wattapola*, and 70% in *Pelpola*.

The majority of cultivators supplement their earnings, in *Pelpola* and *Wattapola*, by labor on nearby estates—rubber estates in the former and tea estates in the latter. The non-cultivators in *Pelpola* are mainly potters, a distinct caste; in *Thunnalai* they are a mixture of white-collar workers, business men, and hired labourers, the latter being preponderantly low caste while the educated white-collar man is nearly always high caste. Caste is more rigid and of greater significance in Jaffna than in the Sinhalese villages. About half of the *Thunnalai* residents are high caste ("cultivators" or *Vel-lalla*), the remaining low-caste indi-

² Certain "attitude questions" might have been grouped with the "knowledge" items, but generally questions with factually correct answers were not put in the attitude section. Though the problem of population growth is not widely recognized in Ceylon, its acute stage is indicated by the doubling of natural increase in the past decade, due mainly to lower death rates, the annual rate being 2.7. See Irene Taeuber's analysis in *Population Index* for October, 1949; also the author's "People, People, and More People" in *New Lanka* for October, 1950.

³ The traits of the Ceylonese peasants, in comparison with both the "sacred" and the "folk" and "Gemeinschaft" constructs, come out not only from field observations but in 17th-19th century descriptions; see, for example, F. A. Hayley, *The Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, Colombo, 1923.

⁴ The details of sampling will appear elsewhere. A brief description of the regions of Ceylon will be found in the author's article in *Rural Sociology* for March, 1950, pp. 3-19.

TABLE 1. DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOUR VILLAGES STUDIED

	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
Religion	Hindu	Buddhist	Buddhist	Buddhist
Language	Tamil	Sinhalese	Sinhalese	Sinhalese
General economic position	Very mixed	Low	Very low	Relatively high
Economic base composition	Mixed	Mainly paddy, with wage supplement	Mainly chena; some paddy	Paddy and rubber, with wage supplement
Caste composition	Mixed	Mainly high caste	Entirely high caste	Mainly high caste
Distance to city	3 miles	12 miles	**	6-8 miles
Transport	Bus, cart, or walk	Bus	Walk 14-20 miles to bus line	Bus or bullock cart
Mean number of trips to town in last year*	54	32	**	16
School	Many available, vernacular and English	Vernacular-adequate	Vernacular-inadequate	Vernacular-adequate
Literacy*	84 per cent	86 per cent	12 per cent	53 per cent
Newspaper***	64 per cent	68 per cent	29 per cent	38 per cent
Voted last election*	93 per cent	91 per cent	58 per cent	97 per cent
Advanced schooling* (over 8 yrs.)	37 per cent	16 per cent	4 per cent (1 case)	3 per cent

*Derived from present study and relates to male family heads only.

**No city in area; the nearest trade center is 14-20 miles distant and is visited fairly often for cloth, medicine, or government business.

***Read or listened to newspaper being read, regardless of frequency, in last year.

viduals being so-called "servants of the Vellalla," and the even lower "toddy tappers."

THE VILLAGERS' RANGE OF KNOWLEDGE

The questions used dealt with (1) awareness of world affairs, (2) Ceylon government and economy, and (3) mechanical and scientific information and experience. (See Tables 2, 3, and 4.)

International Affairs. No question was answered correctly by a majority of people in more than two villages. Only in Pelpola did three-fourths know of American-Soviet tension; in Bullupitiya, none did. Pelpola is prospering from high rubber prices created by this discord. Even in Thunnalai, with

its close ties to India, only 13% could cope with the question on India-Pakistan. None of these questions is widely understood *throughout* the villages, although Pelpola sees the origin of its prosperity, and both of the developed Sinhalese villages know the religion of their co-religionists in Burma. Though Western troops were scattered over Ceylon during the last war, Colombo was bombed, and invasion was feared, such news scarcely penetrated the jungle and seemingly reached only a third of the literate Thunnalaian.

The wider range of knowledge of Wattapola (the Kandyan village) is as striking as the isolation of the jungle village (Bullupitiya) from the outer

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Questions	Percentage Answering Correctly in:			
	Thunnalai (N-88)	Wattapola (N-93)	Bullupitiya (N-24)	Pelpola (N-99)
1. Name the Asian country that fought on the side of Germany in the last war.	34	56	4	65
2. What political party is now in power in England?	59	13	0	6
3. Between what two countries in Asia is there the most ill-feeling today based on religious difference?.....	13	7	0	4
4. Between which of the following pairs of countries do you think the most unfriendly relations exist today—America and England, England and France, or America and Russia?.....	43	62	0	86
5. What is the religion of the majority of people in Pakistan?.....	36	56	0	10
... in India?	88	54	12	29
... in Burma?	24	70	17	71
6. How many Asian countries besides Ceylon can you name which have become independent in the past five years?	1.2	1.1	0	1.1
	(Mean Number of Countries Named)			

*Interviewing was done prior to the Korean trouble and it seemed clear that the India-Pakistan relationship should be selected.

world. Information in Pelpola is largely confined to situations with local manifestation in prices, and knowledge resulting from having been the focus of expected Japanese invasion. The Kandyan highland village is least insular and, except for the jungle village, the most isolated. Information appears to be a direct product of immediate interests and livelihood concerns.

Ceylonese Affairs. In folk or familial peasant societies, where horizons tend to be very localized, one incipient sign of nationalism is awareness of issues transcending the family, caste, or community, and extending to the state (Table 3). Ceylon's deficient rice production is the root of governmental production programs and a rice rationing program involving nearly every villager. The comparatively high level of living in Ceylon rests upon export of a few plantation products, of which

tea yields (1948) four times the export value of the next product, rubber. The high population pressure throughout the island could be expected to have been brought home to most villagers through pressure upon local land and by means of the familiar governmental colonization schemes. Regarding the political questions asked, the vesting of actual authority in a prime minister rather than the Crown-appointed, largely symbolic, governor general is a foundation for Ceylonese independence. The tenure of the governor general is practically unimportant but seemed a simple test of village knowledge about government organization. Sinhalese numerical predominance over Tamil is an obvious fact in national life and bulks large in ethnic rivalry and controversies.

Knowledge on these domestic questions was notably greater than on the international questions. Although the

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF CORRECT ANSWERS ON CEYLONESE NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Questions	Percentage Answering Correctly in:			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
1. What is Ceylon's most valuable export commodity?	42	86	17	8
2. Is Ceylon self-sufficient in paddy production?*	96	95	87	95
3. Which has more power in running the Ceylon Government, Prime Minister or Governor General?.....	53	54	41	71
4. Can the Governor General be turned out of office by the voters of Ceylon?	35	32	12	33
5. Which are the more numerous in Ceylon, the Sinhalese or the Tamil-speaking people?	88	95	16	100
6. At the present time, is the population of Ceylon increasing, decreasing, or stationary?.....	93	95	37	100

*On this and other questions of the same type, guessing was discouraged; an "I don't know" response was always immediately accepted, and was tabulated with the incorrect answers.

level of difficulty of questions might have varied, villagers would be expected to know their own nation better than the outside world. The extent of such information may seem high to those acquainted with villages elsewhere in Asia. Nearly everyone was aware of Ceylon's precarious paddy position. Except in Bullupitiya, over half the interviewees of each locality scored correctly on four of the six questions. The leading export crop was known only in Wattapola, which is itself in the tea country; in Pelpola, nearly everyone was led astray by the local emphasis on rubber production. Bullupitiya was little more aware of the nation than of the world.

Although the sophistication of these villagers may be surprising in contrast to other Asians, one should not overlook the fact that all respondents were eligible voters and the vast majority voted in the latest election. Against this background, results for the more advanced villages may be stated negatively. In Thunnalai and Wattapola, nearly a half did not know their prime minister as the actual national leader.

The failure of two-thirds to know that the governor general was appointed by the Crown doubtless reflects uncritical realization of Ceylon's independence as well as no real grasp of the nature of either office.

Scientific and Mechanical Knowledge. Villagers, within their limits of experience, have much technical experience and knowledge. With few exceptions, the crafts of paddy cultivators, skilled potters, skilled toddy tappers, and jungle trackers have not changed for centuries, and application of modern technology in daily life has been most limited.

Whatever the reasons, there is general recognition of the importance of latrines for health, and of the dietary value of vegetables. That the latter information is a reflection of actual consumption of vegetables is suggested by the negative appreciation of meat (Table 4). Meat, but not vegetables, is tabu or nominally disapproved morally by many Buddhists and some Hindus. The acknowledgment of meat's value by 82% of the Thunnalaian Hindus is associated with their high acceptance

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF AFFIRMATIVE ANSWERS ON QUESTIONS OF MECHANICAL AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

Questions	Percentage Answering Affirmatively in:			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
1. Have you yourself ever operated any device or machine that can run by electricity or petrol?.....	24	18	0	9
2. Have you ever used any of the following tools?				
Screwdriver	62	70	21	75
Hammer and nails.....	95	96	75	99
Saw	78	93	70	94
Spanner (wrench)	55	81	37	14
3. Do you believe that machines exist anywhere which can milk a cow?...	33	54	37	13
4. Do you believe that paddy could be grown in any other country without any use of animals in either cultivation or threshing?.....	59	42	54	13
5. Except for matters of taste, do you believe a person gains anything from eating meat that he couldn't get from rice?.....	82	34	25	41
6. . . . from eating vegetables?.....	94	82	67	92
7. Do you think it would make any difference in the health of this village if everyone used latrines?...	69	98	91	100

of meat other than beef as a morally good food. On the other hand, in otherwise enlightened Wattapola only a third saw value in meat and 80% believed it wrong to eat meat.

That latrines were justified on grounds of "cleanliness" does not permit us to infer basic understanding of hygiene. The leading position of the jungle people on this matter stems largely from energetic efforts by a rural development officer. Thus one man said latrines were important because "Yakkas (disease demons) come to the smell of feces." Pelpola is the only village with general use of latrines; it is surmised that here, as well as in the other localities, their use rests upon grounds of privacy more than of health.

The knowledge and imagination of villagers could not combine in most instances to visualize milking or paddy-cultivating machinery. The lat-

ter was more readily conceivable in Thunnalai where there is some contact with government farms experimenting with modern implements. The sound imagination of many jungle dwellers is due largely to the fact that a number of them have observed American engineers constructing an earth dam on the fringe of the jungle. The actual mechanical inexperience of villagers needs no documenting. Nearly all are outside the world of automobiles and electricity, although they have a fair amount of experience with hand tools, particularly those designed for woodworking.

Summary. This picture of the extent of knowledge among villagers cannot be evaluated against any exact standard; the results are "high" or "low" according to the preconception of the reader: (1) Few villagers know major topics of international or common-

wealth significance. (2) International information exists only where village life has produced specific contacts. (3) Important national problems are widely recognized, despite a general ignorance of elemental facts about organization of government. (4) Experience with machines is almost absent, and even elementary mechanical facts are often unknown; congruence of village "knowledge" with scientific facts is influenced sometimes by specific traditional tabus. (5) Paradoxically, the village nearest the metropolis and longest influenced by European ideas is less informed than either the Tamil or Kandyan highland village. (6) The isolated jungle dwellers know virtually nothing of the outside world, but are mechanically imaginative.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH KNOWLEDGE

Some understanding of the distribution of knowledge in these villages may be obtained by comparing the traits of the villages (see Table 1) and, within the village, by analysis of personal traits. One would expect the jungle people to lack knowledge of life outside their isolated world. But for the other villages it would appear that individual interests and personal behavior outweigh the village's proximity to the urban world—as may be inferred from the contrast of Pelpola with Wataapola and Thunnalai, the latter having higher education and closer personal contacts with urban centers.

Though there are few cases in the samples, the simple association tables for three villages are suggestive. Knowledge appears to be associated in some degree with each variable. Age, on the other hand, showed no relation to knowledge in any village. The variables are more discriminating in the area of international affairs than in the other areas, even if we allow for the greater range of possible scores here. The least correlation occurs in matters

of scientific-mechanical knowledge (Table 5).

International knowledge shows more effect of education than do other sorts of information. (Education is, of course, in part a function of caste and occupation.) Many of the items would not be a part of the school curriculum; hence we may infer that more advanced education leads to continuing interest in events beyond the village. Doubtless, high status favors extended education, which in turn permits wider knowledge of public affairs.

The smaller differences in scores on national affairs (to be multiplied by 1.8 for direct comparison with international items) probably reflect more diffuse sources of information. Talk in the village may range outside local affairs but seldom farther afield than national matters. There are many media of communication on Ceylonese affairs (political rallies, rural development societies, etc.) that are less tied to social position and literacy than the channels bringing knowledge about other nations.

Detailed examination of the association tables suggests the need to qualify earlier comments regarding the relative position of the villages. In the Jaffna village, for example, there is a greater hiatus than in the other villages between the top group on each variable (largely composed of the same persons) and the mid-group. Thus, if we remove the business-professional individuals (although more numerous in Thunnalai than elsewhere, and probably also overweight in the sample) and discuss only the typical villager, we find him less well informed in Thunnalai than in Wataapola and Pelpola. Similarly, the lower castes of the Sinhalese villages are superior to the Tamils in international though not national knowledge. Among those not reading newspapers the Sinhalese surpass the Tamils in both sorts of information. This qualification

TABLE 5. ASSOCIATION OF SELECTED VARIABLES WITH MEAN KNOWLEDGE SCORES

Variable	Mean Knowledge*									Number of Cases		
	Thunnalai			Wattapola			Pelpola			Thunnalai	Wattapola	Pelpola
	International Affairs	National Affairs	Scientific-Mechanical	International Affairs	National Affairs	Scientific-Mechanical	International Affairs	National Affairs	Scientific-Mechanical			
Occupation												
White collar & business	6.2	4.9	3.8	6.2	5.1	3.9	5.3	4.6	3.1	33	10	10
Cultivators only	3.0	3.9	3.5	5.0	4.9	3.4	3.3	4.2	2.9	20	14	15
Labor**	1.7	3.3	3.1	3.0	4.3	3.0	3.1	3.9	2.5	29	62	72
Caste												
Highest	5.8	4.7	3.9	4.2	4.6	3.5	3.4	4.2	2.6	42	61	85
Moderate	2.0	3.8	3.3	2.4	4.2	3.1	2.9	3.5	2.6	14	11	14
Low	1.0	2.8	2.9	2.8	4.3	3.2	—	—	—	19	15	—
Newspaper read in 1950?												
Yes	5.2	4.6	3.8	5.0	4.8	3.4	4.8	4.3	3.0	53	63	38
No	1.3	3.2	2.9	1.5	4.1	3.0	2.4	3.9	2.5	30	30	61
Trips to town in 1950***												
High	5.2	4.5	4.1	4.1	4.9	3.1	—	—	—	26	20	—
Medium	3.5	4.0	3.4	4.1	4.5	3.5	4.6	3.8	3.0	28	43	23
Low	3.0	3.8	3.0	3.3	4.3	2.9	2.9	4.0	2.5	27	29	60
Education***												
High	6.2	4.8	4.0	5.9	4.7	3.6	5.7	4.6	3.1	37	26	10
Medium	2.4	3.7	3.4	3.6	4.7	3.2	3.8	4.2	2.8	28	43	41
Low	1.1	2.9	2.7	2.2	4.0	3.0	2.4	3.9	2.3	18	24	48
Mean knowledge score	3.8	4.1	3.5	3.9	4.5	3.3	3.3	4.0	2.6	83	93	99
Maximum score possible***	11.0	6.0	6.0	11.0	6.0	6.0	11.0	6.0	6.0	—	—	—

*Scores were assigned by giving 1 point for each correct response (use of tools not included) and 1 point for each Asian country named which has acquired freedom in the last 5 years. A few cases for which data were unknown or unclassified on the independent variable have been omitted from the totals. Means have not been presented for less than 10 cases.

**The "labor" group includes all who work for wages, other than "white-collar" workers, and is mainly composed of agricultural "coolie" laborers, toddy tappers, potters and estate laborers. Many of this group also cultivate.

***Divisions were made, as nearly as possible, into three equal size groups on the basis of the combined distribution for the three villages. Computations are not given for categories having less than 10 cases.

gains significance in that it reflects both monopoly of education and social position by the highest caste in Jaffna as well as the stringent barriers to interclass communication. While the Sinhalese status system is structurally similar to that of Jaffna, barriers to interaction between status groups are less pronounced. In Jaffna, accessibil-

ity to knowledge is fundamentally limited by status.⁵

⁵ In the Thunnalai sample, over three-fourths of the Vellalla had at least 8 years of schooling and none less than 4 years, while among the lower castes over half had less than 4 years and only 5% as many as 8 years.

PART II. ATTITUDES

SECULARIZATION IN ATTITUDES

The queries concerning attitudes fall into four fields: (1) conceptions of social status and mobility, (2) conceptions dealing with democratic political values, (3) attitudes reflecting economic traditionalism or rationalism, and (4) conceptions revolving around strong versus individuated family organization. Certain additional items do not fall within any of these areas but relate to the modernization of Ceylonese society. Attitude and fact questions are not sharply distinct; some attitude responses related to factual knowledge of the respondent.

A majority of villagers profess democratic sentiments, however profound their convictions and whatever the

source of their ideas (Table 6). Virtually everyone affirms that the rich should be taxed to educate the poor. A majority uphold freedom of speech even in crisis situations. That many respondents could not grapple with such deep decisions is indicated, however, by the large proportion of doubtful and "don't know" answers. Thus, in Bullupitiya, much of the appearance of lesser democratization should be interpreted as confusion in the face of new and perplexing issues rather than allegiance to traditional authoritarianism.

The majority of villagers had voted "Right" in the last election. The lower caste of Pelpola supported an independent candidate while the high caste favored a conservative candidate. In Thunnalai the lower castes were solid-

TABLE 6. ATTITUDES OF MALE FAMILY HEADS IN FOUR VILLAGES ON ISSUES RELEVANT TO POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Questions	Percentage of Responses Which Were:							
	Democratic				Undecided*			
	Thun-nalai	Watta-pola	Bullup-itiya	Pel-pola	Thun-nalai	Watta-pola	Bullup-itiya	Pel-pola
1. If your leaders assured you that it would lead Ceylon to prosperity, would you be willing to see someone put in jail for criticising the government?	59	79	21	61	31	2	12	25
2. Do you think it would be best if only people who own land had the right to vote?	88	70	62	95	2	0	21	2
3. Do you think it is right that a rich man be taxed for the education of a poor man's child?	92	95	79	99	2	3	17	0
4. Newspapers sometimes carry news that undermines people's confidence in their national leaders. Suppose such news items were true, do you think the paper should be permitted to print it?	56	67	63	73	37	1	12	14

*Including non-comprehension of question.

ly communistic, the high as solidly conservative.⁶

SOCIAL STATUS

For a country in which such a high premium is put on birth status and in which there is so little vertical mobility, the status conceptions reflected in Table 7 seem surprisingly westernized. This is due partly to the fact that few of the queries touch the more personal relationships, wherein caste feeling is strongest, and partly to the multi-caste complexion of the samples.⁷ If, in the query on better education for the lower castes, intercaste mixing in schools had been specified, the high-caste persons of Thunnalai (though probably not those of Pelpola or Wattapola) would have been more conservative. Further, the Thunnalai teachers (overweighted in the sample) may profess democracy while resenting in-

trusion of lower castes into their classrooms.

A sizeable minority of villagers do openly profess a desire for limitations on civil rights; a third to a half object to a very low caste individual in the inner sanctum of government.⁸ In the case of village headmen, a matter which lies closer home, two-thirds or more in the larger villages favor restricting that office to the highest caste. The paradoxical tolerance in Bullupitiya for a low-caste headman is explained by the fact that in this jungle area villages are normally populated by families of one caste and social isolation is insured by physical distance.

As to the most zealously guarded area of life, that of marriage and the family, a daughter marrying outside her caste would be permanently shunned or disowned by the vast majority in all villages. "Then she is dead to me," answers an elderly Thunnalaian.

Westernized and non-traditional points of view emerge in status concepts unrelated to caste. While support for the "man who made good" over one inheriting his position is less general than in America, a majority approve enterprise and accomplishment, except in Bullupitiya. On this issue the most conservative large village is Wattapola, which has a quasi-feudal and well-marked landed aristocracy. Even here, where most peasants have grudgingly taken up low-status labor to supplement tillage, little censure would be given a self-respecting cultivator turned rickshaw puller (but note Table 9, question 7).

Status judgments would be expected to run along caste lines. Yet differences are less clear-cut than they might be—

⁶ As might be expected from this caste division of votes, international and national knowledge among the leftist voters in Thunnalai was less adequate than among conservatives. But in neither Thunnalai nor Pelpola was there a significant difference in the secularization or traditionalism of those voting left and right.

⁷ It is not surprising that equal suffrage is assented to by most high-caste men, but it is indeed remarkable that any noticeable proportion even qualifiedly accept a daughter eloping with a lower caste man—an issue touching both caste and patriarchal sentiments. Caste endogamy is virtually complete throughout Ceylon, and strict communalism is preserved even where status differences are not prominent. Among the Sinhalese, caste is rigid only in affairs of home and marriage, with a minimum of social disabilities arising directly from caste differences. The caste situation of Thunnalai resembles that of South India; the majority and highest caste having effectively hindered educational and occupational attainments of the low castes. Needless to state, official Ceylon government policy is anticaste and no legal recognition is extended to the system. Yet few if any from the lowest castes are in white-collar public positions—due less to discrimination than to low educational qualifications.

⁸ Many voicing the traditional response maintain, in line with newer ideologies, that they themselves do not object, but since others would not respect such individuals it would be unwise to elevate them.

TABLE 7. ATTITUDE OF MALE FAMILY HEADS IN FOUR VILLAGES ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BIRTH STATUSES

Questions	Percentage of Responses Which Were:											
	Secular				Traditional				Undecided			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
1. Do you think it would be better to have a (highest caste) Headman in a village mainly of other castes?.....	28	33	88	22	61	65	8	40	11	2	4	38
2. Should a qualified (lowest caste) be given a position in the Civil Service?	61	67	67	51	28	30	29	29	11	3	4	20
3. Is it as important to give a (lowest caste) child as good an education as others?.....	74	96	59	77	20	3	33	16	6	1	8	7
4. Do you think (lowest caste) should be permitted to vote like anybody else?	80	73	25	70	12	24	67	20	8	3	8	10
5. What would you do if your daughter (eloped and) married a man of lower caste than herself?												
Accept him and her, too	8	14	0	*9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Permanently shun or disown	—	—	—	—	68	81	96	72	—	—	—	—
Intermediate or qualified	—	—	—	—	24	5	4	19	—	—	—	—
6. Which of the two men described below deserves the greater respect, or which would you be prouder to have as a kinsman?												
Man "A" (rags to riches)	76	60	37	90	—	—	—	—	7	2	17	1
Man "B" (inherited high class position) ..	—	—	—	—	17	38	46	9	—	—	—	—
7. Suppose a man of your village became a rickshaw puller in the city; would you treat him with the same respect as before?	55	69	38	49	30	28	58	36	15	3	4	15

*Question not asked 18 respondents of low caste.

though of course there are too few cases for a decisive comparison. In Thunnalai the lowest caste supported equality of opportunity and suffrage for themselves, although other low-caste men were no more liberal than the highest caste. Thus, apart from bitterness among low-caste persons regarding their own disabilities, there is little sign in Thunnalai that any caste repudiates the system as such, or that castes of intermediate status are more charitable than the highest toward those at the bottom. In Wattapola, high and low castes did not disagree on any issue of equal rights and civil disabilities. (No members of the small Sinhalese outcaste group reside here.) High and low, the majority want "fair play," but high and low affirm the sanctity of caste for marriage. A large majority even of the low castes approve inheritance of class status as against its achievement. Not so among the potters of Pelpola, a small group of rather low status. Here the lower caste almost unanimously support the rights of the lowest, the dignity of low-status work (rickshaw pulling), and the rightness of status by achievement.⁹

Attitudes toward allowing a low-caste man to serve as headman stand in a class by themselves. No caste group in any village supported this proposal. This consensus reflects no lack of desire for status among those of low caste, but rather simple recognition of the inappropriateness of such an appointment in the context of existing attitudes.

ECONOMIC RATIONALISM

Agriculture is the way of life in Ceylon. To the Sinhalese of the Kandyan highlands and the Low Country, paddy cultivation is central in his life and is surrounded with an aura of

⁹ It was deemed prudent to omit the question on intercaste marriage here. Doubtless on this issue the potters would be quite conservative.

veneration and ceremony. This sentiment gives no heed to the meagre yields and the common need to seek supplementary income by wage labor. Unless he has a small holding in rubber or coconut, the Sinhalese is enmeshed in a deficit, subsistence economy. In Jaffna, an unusually dense population coupled with a harsh habitat has led to greater diversification of crops, including some commercial ones; unlike southern Ceylon, many persons are incessantly in search of new avenues of income. The Sinhalese villager, not as conservative in most things as his northern compatriot, has been less alert to new economic possibilities.

The economic conservatism which is present in all localities, particularly in the Sinhalese villages, is indicated by question 7, Table 8. "Paddy thinking" is incompatible with rational economic decisions. Yet not far from Pelpola and Wattapola there are plantations made prosperous through one-crop commercial farming. The apparent rationality in Bullupitiya and Thunnalai is partly accounted for by the lesser role of paddy.

Secularized responses are manifested in the recognized desirability of electricity, disposition of savings, use of iron tools, and willingness to supplement income by personal employment in a factory. Yet only in Thunnalai could even a majority of persons suggest an actual use for electricity other than lighting; and nearly all the suggestions obtained by interviewer probing stopped short with "radio." (The narrow technological horizons portrayed earlier in Table 4 underlay the present results.)

The Buddhist Sinhalese also appear notably traditionalistic in their steady preference for a shrine over a rice-hulling machine. Poverty-stricken jungle dwellers, to whom this machine was described, were unanimously interested—but not at the price stated.

TABLE 8. ECONOMIC RATIONALISM AND TRADITIONALISM OF MALE FAMILY HEADS IN FOUR VILLAGES

Questions	Percentage of Responses Which Were:											
	Secular				Traditional				Doubtful			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
1. If you had extra money at the end of the season how would you keep it?*	58	65	87	99	41	35	13	1	1	0	0	0
2. Do you think the use of petrol-driven equipment hurts the quality of paddy?	40	49	38	2	41	26	33	61	19	25	29	37
3. ... iron equipment?	61	77	58	99	27	13	21	1	12	10	21	0
4. If you believed you could better your economic position, would you go to a colonization scheme?	47	65	21	14	45	31	54	53	8	4	25	32
5. Do you think there are any ways in which electricity could help you besides giving lights?	55	48	25	34	23	22	33	11	22	30	42	55
6. Would you like to see electricity come to this village?	87	61	83	92	8	36	13	1	5	3	4	7
7. Suppose a new crop was discovered that could be grown on the present paddy land. If you could sell this crop for more than your paddy, would you stop raising paddy and produce the new crop?												
Accept new crop fully.	24	9	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Part of both crops....	—	—	—	—	27	26	75	6	—	—	—	—
Reject new completely	—	—	—	—	47	66	21	93	2	0	0	0
8. If your village suddenly had a large gift of money, which would be the better way to spend it—on a shrine or on a rice hulling machine?	57	34	0	11	38	65	100	89	5	1	0	0
9. If the government built a small factory near here, would you be willing to work in it in your spare time?...	87	85	92	89	4	9	0	8	9	6	8	3

*Bank or post office—secular.

Even in more secular Wattapola, two-thirds rejected the machine though aware of its value. These responses may be less indicative of potential behavior than a reluctance to confess that things of this world should be more highly prized than the spiritual.

Superficially inconsistent with belief in the soil as the basis of life is the willingness often shown in these villages to accept wage work. It had been assumed that Sinhalese enter such employment grudgingly, and the discrepancy is doubtless due to the fact that many in the samples were actually doing such work. A move into a factory, especially if under government auspices, would actually increase status. Doubtless, in many villages wage labor would still be repudiated.

Nor does the peasant's root in agriculture prevent his visualizing an urban vocation for his son, though here the Asian status system is evident. When asked what vocation was most desired for a son, assuming any vocation was available, only in Pelpola did a majority specify farming. In the other three villages a majority named professions or government service. Only a single person mentioned a mechanical occupation, and only a few preferred business careers—except in Pelpola where a fourth gave this choice. A tenth and a fifth, respectively, of the Thunnalaiaans and Wattapolans regarded agriculture as the ideal calling.

Against the background of Ceylonese status conceptions, these findings are not to be read as a repudiation of rural life so much as a veneration (rooted in feudalism and nurtured by colonial administration) for the government white-collar position far surpassing the comparable attitude in the West. Had we queried the "desirability" of youth migration to cities, we would have elicited strong opposition. It is significant that in Pelpola, where agriculture prospers, the majority were not

lured by thoughts of the "civil and clerical service."

The peasant is enmeshed in the locality-kinship structure even more deeply than in the subsistence economy. The majority, except in Wattapola, were not interested in obtaining land grants under the generous terms of the colonization development in the north-central dry zone. Prosperous Pelpolans and impoverished jungle Bullupitiyans were equally reluctant to leave their homelands; in Thunnalai, opinion was evenly divided. Various reasons were given for remaining where they were, but a man in Thunnalai summed up general sentiment in his rhetorical question, "How can one leave the place where he was born and where he has already spent the greater part of his life?"

Wedded to his home village and the old subsistence crop, many a villager is no less bound to his primitive techniques. The numerous doubtful responses as to the utility of iron and power equipment are indicative less of an active prejudice against mechanized cultivation than of "common sense" reasoning.¹⁰

The general willingness to bank savings rather than keep the money around the house, as is common in other Asian countries, no doubt arises from the constant fear of theft or violence felt by many villagers, particularly the Sinhalese. Plans for the dis-

¹⁰ No deep prejudice against iron tools was found. (A contrasting situation is described by T. Lynn Smith in "Notes on Population and Social Organization in the Central Portion of the Sao Francisco Valley," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, December, 1947.) Actually, most ploughs have an iron face on the straight wood shaft. Petrol motors were widely suspect on the grounds that the poisonous fuel would spoil the paddy for food. Thus we have lack of knowledge rather than active sentiment. Thunnalaiaans feared deep ploughing would unearth the shallow salt deposits.

posal of a windfall fund were more diverse. The Bullupitiyans uniformly favored using it for religious purposes, while the Pelpolans preferred to invest in capital expansion, business, or land.

The Thunnalaiaans favored household equipment and religion about equally. The contrasts of these intentions with those for use of *community* funds (Table 8) are obvious.

TABLE 9. ATTITUDE OF MALE FAMILY HEADS TOWARD FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND MORES IN FOUR VILLAGES

Questions	Percentage of Responses Which Were:							
	Secular				Undecided			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Pelpola
1. Do you think a woman gains greater respect by having many children rather than a few?.....	22	19	13	10	17	14	33	10
2. If you thought Ceylon did not have enough food to go around, would you approve of Ceylonese people controlling the birth of children? (Assuming possible)...	41	55	8	14	18	2	8	8
3. Do you think it is important to give girls as good an education as boys?.....	76	99	88	94	5	0	4	5
4. Should a son follow his own vocational choice or should his father determine it for him?	35	22	0	6	7	1	4	9
5. If a son persists in his own choice, should his father disinherit him?.....	82	64	83	92	8	3	4	5
6. Would you permit your daughter to work in a government factory in her spare time?.....	63	77	17	76	5	1	8	15
... your son?.....	94	90	92	86	1	1	8	6
7. Would you permit your daughter to marry any of the following (assuming same caste) if she wished to do so?								
Rickshaw puller	35	36	13	1	1	1	8	0
Estate foreman.....	61	48	25	71	2	1	8	0
Small shopkeeper.....	78	81	42	96	2	1	8	0
Sanitary inspector	86	81	54	100	2	1	8	0
Government road laborer..	42	57	17	8	2	1	8	0
Chauffeur	53	54	25	54	2	1	8	0
8. What do you think the ideal number of (living) children a couple should have?.....	5.3	6.0	8.4	6.2				

(Mean Number)

THE STRONG FAMILY

Family sentiments lie at the core of the old Asian social order. In their preservation, caste relations are upheld, disparate sex roles and attitudes are enforced, and individuated conceptions of liberty are repudiated in spheres that in the West long since moved beyond familial or patriarchal dictates. In the area of family sentiments, the questions posed touched on three topics: (1) fertility and the large family ideal, (2) differential sex roles for children, and (3) patriarchal authority (Table 9).

Large-family mores may have grown out of the need of high fertility for survival, but these mores persist vigorously even where group survival no longer requires unlimited reproduction. Ceylonese peasant appreciation of children is evident in their estimates of the size of the ideal family. In each village the ideal (mode and mean) number of children was five or six, except in Bullupitiya where it was eight. In every village a majority agreed that the mother of numerous children was more respected than the mother of few. Those individuals who favored small families were aware of the burden of large families, while the majority thought of children as an economic asset. When the families were crudely grouped by economic level, the desired size of family was about the same at each level. In the context of these traditional attitudes, the proportion favoring birth control under circumstances of threatened starvation is surprising—though only in Wattapola did an actual majority approve. The issue of birth control has not been placed before these folk; the vast majority asserted such control was impossible. In Pelpola and Bullupitiya, where few approved birth control, references were more numerous to the incompatibility with religion. (There is no clear case for or against contra-

ception in Buddhist literature.) In actual fact, there is insufficient food today in Ceylon; yet the respondents all saw the question in terms of some far-off famine.

For a society in which girls of respectable family rarely have roles outside the home, the wide support both for their education and their employment in factories is noteworthy. Bullupitiya and Hindu Thunnalai reveal the expected pattern of attitudes on education of girls. But some Hindus approved, for illuminating reasons. A common sentiment was, "Even girls could earn and support us." Very few individuals, except in Pelpola, phrased the question in terms of "equal rights"; even in Pelpola approval of girls' schooling was part of a vague sentiment that "education should be good for people generally." Negative responses, however, were always reflections of a definite viewpoint; e.g., one Thunnalaian overlooked even household chores in asserting, "They are made biologically for reproduction alone." That a majority of villagers (except in Bullupitiya) would allow a daughter to work in a government factory witnesses to the disintegration of traditional attitudes. In Thunnalai, particularly, the growing compromise between economic realities and the mores of feminine seclusion stood out.

Children's rights of self-determination were explored in one question only, that of a son's vocational choice (however, note Table 7, question 5). Practically everyone regarded this as clearly a matter for parental decision. But only for a small minority was the strength of this attitude sufficient to impel a father to disown his self-willed son; the Kandyan fathers were most adamant. Doubtless, the results would have differed had the question dealt with a son choosing an occupation not in keeping with traditional standards. The proposal to grant a daughter the right to marry as she will is not par-

allel, for arranged marriage is part of the mores to a greater extent than vocational choice by a son, where family status is not outraged. In those few instances where children have a strong preference in partners, parents are usually reasonable if the marriage is suitably dowered, astrologically auspicious, and (most essential) of proper caste position. Parental prerogatives would not be exerted arbitrarily when the proposed partner holds a position of some prestige, such as government inspector. The reaction is wholly different for a proposed union with an otherwise appropriate person whose work is manual labor. Few fathers would concede that a daughter's alliance with a rickshaw puller was her own business.

OTHER ATTITUDES

Innumerable values and areas of thought beyond those discussed above could have been investigated in order to throw light upon Ceylonese social trends. Of great significance are attitudes toward magic, folk versus Western medicine, and Ceylon's own past (Table 10). The vast field of magic was left aside; no more than a handful

of villagers would be thoroughly skeptical of the efficacy of magic.

Healing methods in Ceylon are of three varieties. Often all three methods are used for the same complaint. The three are magic, Ayurvedic or native medicine, and Western practice. Magic is widely used as a preventative, but as cure it is resorted to usually in mental disorders or jointly with other systems, or where one of the latter has failed. In both the Kandyan and the Low Country villages, the majority asserted they would give up Western medicine before native procedures; in Thunnalai, over 40 per cent would do likewise. It was in superstitious and isolated Bullupitiya that a majority favored Western medicine, but it is in such areas that modern public health programs are bringing miraculous changes.¹¹ More significant in this jungle area than the recognition of the powers of Western science is the ab-

¹¹ Many of those interviewed had not been included in the DDT program because they were among the most difficult to reach, yet most of them were aware of the results of spraying and hoped they might benefit. The government claim that every dwelling in the malarial area is sprayed regularly is essentially valid, although the terrain allows some "misses."

TABLE 10. ATTITUDES OF MALE FAMILY HEADS IN FOUR VILLAGES ON SELECTED ISSUES RELEVANT TO SECULARIZATION

Questions	Percentage of Responses in:			
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Bullupitiya	Peipola
1. Suppose that only one system of medicine were to be permitted in Ceylon. Which would you be more willing to give up?				
Ayurvedic	54	29	71	33
Western	42	69	17	53
Doubtful	4	2	12	14
2. Do you think the village people of Ceylon had a better life under the Sinhalese/Tamil Kings than they do today?				
Yes	34	36	21	39
No	36	46	12	30
Doubtful	30	18	67	31

sence of a specialized Ayurvedic practitioner. Consequently, villages have been pushed directly toward Western medicine as a supplement to magic. Outside the jungle, generations of contact with Western methods, now freely available through socialized organizations, have not convinced the villagers of their superiority over the highly systematized traditional cures.

Against the background of the general traditionalism surviving in all the villages, it may be surprising that the peasants view the past with widespread misgivings. Only a minority believed life under the Kings was better than today. Lack of such belief was based usually upon an exaggeration of the torture and cruelty practiced of yore. Those who idealized the past thought in terms of its supposed higher level of living, a notion widely held even among the educated.

KNOWLEDGE AND SECULARIZATION

It would be a reasonable and certainly a popular assumption that the extension of knowledge about affairs beyond the village horizon is associated with increasingly secularized attitudes. Table 11 confirms this assumption. Perhaps more notable than the association, however, is the lack of a simple linear relationship between knowledge and secularized values. As stated earlier, many of the attitude judgments involve factual knowledge. Differences in secularization between the middle and lower thirds in knowledge

are slight. The high level of secularization among those with the greatest knowledge is, however, manifest in each village. Apparently there is a fairly high threshold of knowledge, below which increasing information has little effect upon attitudes.

As in the case of knowledge (Table 11), simple correlations were worked out between secularization and other variables such as age, caste, and schooling. These explorations yielded little further understanding of the intra-village process of change. In each locality the professional class was at the top, but they are also highest in schooling, reading, etc. Only in Thunnalai was youthfulness of some influence upon secular thinking. (It may be recalled that youthfulness was not associated with knowledge.) In Pelpola, age differences appeared, but the association between education and secularization was closer. In Wattapola, no variable was important; the differences that were consistent were smaller than those observed in comparing knowledge with secularization.

Isolation of the determining factors in secularization requires more intensive studies than the present exploratory survey. Negatively, one may conclude that no general explanation of emancipation from traditional thinking can be made in terms of age and education. On the other hand, it is evident that those few villagers who have an extensive knowledge of the larger world tend to be emancipated from traditional ideologies.

TABLE 11. ASSOCIATION OF KNOWLEDGE WITH SECULARIZATION OF ATTITUDES IN THREE VILLAGES

Level of Knowledge	Mean Secularization Score* in:		
	Thunnalai	Wattapola	Pelpola
Upper Third**	13.6	14.0	13.9
Middle Third**	12.1	12.8	10.5
Lower Third**	11.9	11.8	9.8

*Each secularized response counted one point; in all, there were 24 questions. In the case of knowledge questions, one point was given for each correct answer.

**Distribution of three villages combined.

TRADITIONALISM AS A GENERALIZED
PHENOMENON

The questions used in this study were too few and too overlapping in content to permit a precise statement of each village's level of secularization, either in general or even in specific areas of thought. The jungle dwellers are highly traditional in almost every field, but over-all contrasts among the remaining villages are inexact and subject to erratic inconsistencies within each village. Such intra-village variations are normal, and they arise both from the paucity of questions about any given topic as well as from differential impact of changes upon different persons in so dynamic a situation.

In an attempt to give a crude over-all rating, one point was allotted for each of 24 questions when the response was deemed to be in accord with the secular-democratic value system. The mean "secularization scores" were: Wattapola 13.1, Thunnalai 12.6, Pelpola 10.7, Bullupitiya 9.0. It would be presumptuous to calculate tests of significance between the villages, but there may be some significance in an apparent strain toward consistency in village rank position for the different sets of questions upon which the gross scores rest (Table 12).

There is a broad tendency for a village that is conservative in one sphere to be conservative in others. While secularization has proceeded less far in some localities than in others—Bullupitiya is the notable case—the relative resistance to change in each sphere tends to be similar in each

locality.¹² The stable rank position of Bullupitiya supports the basic hypothesis of this study; i.e., that a functioning traditional value system can be shown to be moving toward a potentially new integration of a secular-democratic sort. The other three villages have long been directly subject to Western influences and the influence of the city. Despite its individuality, each village appears to have reacted uniformly to the questions in the several value categories. The data suggest that the process of secularization is not only integrated logically, but also that it tends to proceed in particular localities as an integrated system of values discernible in any one of many spheres of behavior. Behavioral situations nearest the central moral core of a familistic-peasant society appear to offer strongest resistance to the secularized frame of mind. However, the extent to which these resistances are effective is associated with the degree to which less deeply rooted values also are preserved.¹³

The present study has focused upon attitudes rather than community or-

¹² The definitely "democratic" political responses of Pelpola are an exception. This village, unlike the others, has for several centuries been under colonial administration and has had a Roman-Dutch law rather than the traditional codes that still prevail in the other villages.

¹³ This approach may be fruitful for testing and qualifying typological constructs now largely based on deduction; e.g., Becker's recent "Sacred and Secular Societies Considered with Reference to Folk-State and Similar Classifications," *Social Forces*, May, 1950.

TABLE 12. RANK ORDER OF VILLAGES IN SECULARIZATION IN DIFFERENT BEHAVIORAL OR VALUE SPHERES

Economic Rationalism	Familism	Status	Political Democracy
1. Thunnalai	1. Wattapola	1. Wattapola	1. Pelpola
2. Wattapola	2. Thunnalai	2. Thunnalai	2. Wattapola
3. Pelpola	3. Pelpola	3. Pelpola	3. Thunnalai
4. Bullupitiya	4. Bullupitiya	4. Bullupitiya	4. Bullupitiya

ganization. While the elicited responses offer clues to the nature of institutions, conformity between attitude and actual social structure is far from perfect. Thus, one should not assume that even a sizeable liberal or secularly sensitive minority presupposes a corresponding modification of the institutional order. Doubtless, some liberalized responses (particularly among Thunnalai upper classes) do not reflect potential action so much as awareness that "undemocratic" views have become unrespectable. Although

ideological analysis is no substitute for study of community organization, it may provide one fruitful approach to the study of social change. Having used both approaches in the same communities, the writer concludes that attitude analysis reveals far less traditionalism in thinking than would have been inferred from purely structural institutional analysis. Outside the remote jungle localities, the newer ideology is modifying speech reactions more rapidly than changes occur in the community organization.

SUBSISTENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM IN A NORWEGIAN MOUNTAIN VALLEY*

by *Fredrik Barth*†

ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to describe the culture of a small Norwegian mountain community as a system of institutions adaptive to a local ecology. It was found that these institutions show consistent adaptive traits, and may profitably be described in such terms.

A population of 160 individuals is distributed on 41 farms, each inhabited by an approximation to an elementary family. A wide variety of activities are independently performed on each of these farms, making extensive use of the biotic resources, with special emphasis on the milk cow. Each farm is an independent productive unit, containing within itself the required labor, land, and capital. A very simple, segmented social structure gives a maximum of social independence, and makes for considerable internal loyalty in the farm family group. This makes for a very flexible system, able to exploit the local resources quite completely, and adaptable to new economic innovations.

A major part of any culture is concerned with ways and means of exploiting the natural environment. These ways and means are specific, in that they can not, without modification, be applied to other phenomena than those for which they were designed. They are thus geographically

limited to the area where those phenomena occur—i.e., to an ecologic area. Serious modification of them will result in change in other parts of an integrated culture. Thus, any culture may be analysed as an adaptation to a local ecology.

In the following study, an attempt will be made to show how the culture of a small Norwegian mountain community represents an integrated adaptation to the local environment. Based primarily on domesticated animals, but

*Based on field work done February-May, 1950, by means of a grant from the Nansen Fund of Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.

†Etnografisk Museum, University of Oslo.

making wide use of the biotic resources, the economy has been successfully adjusted to the world market. The community selected is a moderately prosperous, growing one, and essentially similar to other mountain valleys of eastern Norway.

As an orientation, some important historical and geographical facts concerning the general area should be pointed out. Agriculture was introduced into eastern Norway approximately 3500 B.C.¹, and the main cultural periods reflect the European development, but with full local cultural continuity. By Migration Times, some 600 A.D., a type of agriculture based on the independent farm was established, and this continued, with little change in tools and traditions, up to the 19th century in the more inaccessible valleys. Medieval European social and economic institutions had no great impact upon the area. Feudal land ownership patterns never became established, and, during the centuries of Danish rule, the old local laws, codified in the 9th and 10th centuries, prevailed. The pattern of individual land ownership by free farmers is thus unbroken. Pietism never became important, as it did in western Norway; the state church was formerly a central social institution, but revival movements and sectarianism never swayed the population. There is a distinct tradition of formalism in interpersonal behavior, and a strong premium on self-control and independence.

The area studied, Sollia (Fig. 1), consists of two parallel valleys, together making up a county in the local administration. The valley bottom lies from 600-800 meters² above sea level, with a treeless mountain plateau at 1000-1200 meters³ on both sides, and some pinnacles and mountain com-

plexes attaining more than 2000 meters⁴. The valley has a heavy coniferous forest cover; the timber line runs at 900-1000 meters.⁵ The latitude is 62° N. Mountains to the east, cutting off the Atlantic winds, produce a moderately continental climate. Snow covers the ground from October till May, but the summers are moderately warm. The local farmer can, however, count on only one and a half frost-free months.

Sollia had been depopulated during a climatic recession; it was uninhabited in 1680, when people started resettling it. These were partly squatters, partly lawful settlers; all of them were recruited from essentially similar, neighboring valleys. In Sollia they continued their old way of life in somewhat greater isolation, progressively developing a local subculture. Today the people of Sollia are distinct in the detail of their habits and customs, and speak their own local dialect. In 1949, the total population of the county was 450 persons.

The present study centered around the northern branch of the valley, and the following discussion will mainly be concerned with it. It has a sedentary population of 160-170 persons distributed on 41 farms, and includes also a schoolhouse and a combined general store and post office. Much of the settlement centers around a large lake, and may be divided into three main areas, where the valley bottom makes farming feasible.

SUBSISTENCE AND ECONOMY

Essentially, Sollia is a dairy farming district, where the milk cow is of the greatest importance. This implies a complicated set of activities, ranging from the gathering of winter fodder to the preparation of milk products.

The plowed land is primarily used for raising hay, mainly timothy, and

¹ G. Gjessing, *Norges Steinvalder*, 1945.

² Approximately 2000-2600 ft.

³ Approximately 3300-4000 ft.

⁴ Approximately 6500 ft.

⁵ Approximately 3000-3300 ft.



FIGURE 1. MAP OF THE AREA STUDIED, SOLLIA, 1:100,000. Equidistance 300 feet. Black: lakes and rivers; stippled: forest covered; small black square: farm; dashed line: road. Inset: location of Sollia on the Scandinavian peninsula.

silo fodder for the cattle. Due to the high altitude and consequent short frostless season, grain is not grown, and even potatoes are not raised in sufficient amounts to satisfy local needs. The total cultivated land of the

area, inhabited by more than 160 persons, is but 266 acres. Obviously, this alone can not support the population, and the production of the unplowed land must be equally important in the economy.

There is a seasonal occupation of the mountain ecologic area, during which period the livestock shift for themselves, grazing the valley side and the mountains. Many herds are moved up to "seters"—small huts and barns, situated high above the timber line and close to the richer mountain pastures. From June 1 to September 15, three and a half months, the livestock—and therefore the people—rely entirely on uncultivated land for subsistence.

During the remaining eight and a half months of the year the livestock must be kept inside the barn and fed, but hay from the plowed fields constitutes only a part of the fodder. It is augmented by hay from natural fields lying at a distance from the farm. Twigs and leaves of deciduous trees are cut and dried, and fed to the animals. The main addition to the raised crop is reindeer lichen, collected in the fall in the mountains. This is boiled and served hot to the cattle, and is rich and nourishing. It is said to constitute as much as 30 per cent of the total winter fodder.

The other "crop" of great importance to the valley's economy is the timber. Some of it is privately owned by local farmers or townspeople; some is county-owned and primarily for domestic use. Saw mills, one private and two county-owned, cut some of this, and the planks are transported by truck to the railroad. Most of the timber is floated down the river and sold as logs. The timbering is not very much mechanized, but moderately efficient.

The main producers in the ecologic food chains that concern man are thus various species of wild grass, mosses and reindeer lichen, timothy in the plowed fields, and conifers. The primary consumers are man's domestic animals: sheep, some goats, and especially cattle, which are also the most important in terms of prestige. Lately the fresh cow's milk has been sold di-

rectly; the valley is serviced by a milk truck, which carries the fresh milk to a private dairy more than 30 miles from the north end of the community. Due to the present price subsidies, the milk sold fresh gives the producer a better price than the butter he could churn from it; consequently this old practice of home butter-making is going out of use. The skimmed milk is bought back and given to the cattle, often boiled with reindeer lichen. Goat cheese is produced locally, since no cheese factory is within reasonable reach.

Hunting and fishing is of varying importance—during the depression it was a major occupation, and it is invariably a major pastime. Reindeer, moose, fox, hare, grouse, and ptarmigan are hunted, and trout is the main fish caught. Berries of various kinds are collected and jam and juice made from them.

During the building and expansion of Sollia's federally supported through road, many men sought temporary employment on it. Another source of income, of considerable importance, is the tourist trade, for which Sollia is very well suited. Within the area there is only one small hotel; most visitors board at the various farms. Thus, no special mechanism is necessary to take care of their needs; a small number of guests take part in the family meals and are given some space in the house.

The traditional diet is adjusted so as to make the area as self-sufficient as possible: meat, trout, porridge, fried bread, butter, and cheese are the staples. Potatoes, traditionally unimportant, are now used to some extent, but do not play the role they do in the lowland Norwegian diet. The main household needs that can not be satisfied from local production are thus flour, coffee, sugar, and, to a certain extent, potatoes. Clothing and shoes, formerly locally produced, are now bought in

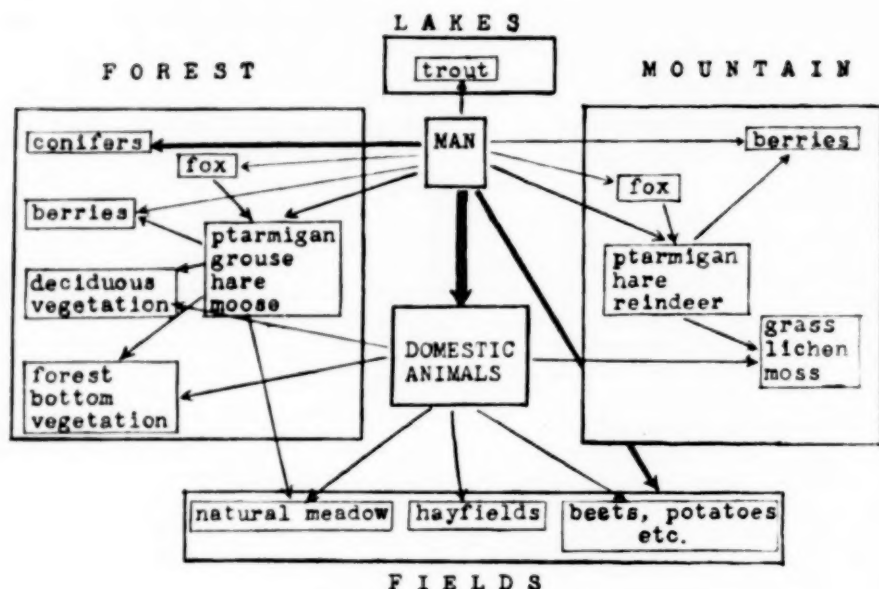


FIGURE 2. SOLLIA FOOD WEB.

the store. The other main imports are corn and herring meal for the livestock, kitchen utensils, implements, and machinery.

The total pattern is characterised by the great variety of activities, placing man at the end of practically every food chain. For the purpose of clarification, the ecologic concept of a food web—the patterns of the feeding relations of a self-sufficient ecologic community⁶—may be used. In the present connection, it has been modified to include human use other than a direct feeding relationship; coniferous forest, by way of the market, becomes sugar, coffee, and flour for the Sollia farmer, so that relationship can, in a certain sense, be included in the food web (Fig. 2).

FARM AND FAMILY

To organize this variety of activities, an institutional system has been built

up with the independent farm as the main building block. Practically all productive activity and prestige center around the farm; it is the independent productive unit.

The modal farm has six or seven acres of cultivated land, pasturing rights, and rights of use of the county-owned forests to cover domestic needs for wood. In addition to this, a large minority also have private timber. Most farms have a "seter" and traditional pasturing rights. The average livestock consists of 1 horse, 4-5 cows, 10 sheep, a pig, and some hens. A certain number of farmers also keep goats. The houses are small but numerous and well built, providing very ample space for living and domestic activities. Many farmers had gotten into debt during the Depression, but during the last war, inflation and high food prices made the great majority able to pay off these debts. Today the average farmer has no creditors, and has sufficient capital to operate his farm successfully.

⁶ W. C. Allee, A. E. Emerson, O. Park, T. Park, K. P. Schmidt, *Principles of Animal Ecology*, 1949.

Ideally, the farm is owned and administered by the elementary family, a couple and their unmarried offspring. It is conceived of as a socially and economically autonomous unit with no great obligations to any outside person or larger institution. It is at once the smallest and largest definite unit in the economic and social structure.

Inheritance is from father to son; although primogeniture is important in official Norwegian law, it receives no great attention here. Quite often it is the youngest son who takes over the farm. This is tied up with the stress that is laid on the elementary family as the proper owners of a farm. A married son should not stay and work with his father; he is expected to break new ground or find another occupation. There is thus a tendency for the older brothers to go off and start for themselves, whereas the youngest one stays at home longest, cares for the aging parents, and eventually takes over after them. A certain amount of conflict will arise in that the father usually keeps control of the farm till he is definitely physically incapable of working it any more. Once the parents give up the farm they are guaranteed a certain part of the farm income, have certain appropriately small household duties, and take care of the grandchildren; then the parent-son relationship becomes less strained.

The family group is nowadays generally quite small; modern birth control by contraceptives seems to be practiced by most couples. Formerly the sibling groups were larger, but a greater proportion of unmarried kept the rate of population growth fairly low. The average number of children today runs about three per family.

The wider family ties are kept track of and carry a certain importance. Except for some recent immigrants, everybody in Sollia is actually related to everybody else, and for weddings and similar events the closer kin are in-

vited. But these ties have no economic importance, and they do not seem to regulate marriage (cousin marriage is permissible, though preferably not practiced) or determine membership in any formal or informal social group. Except for the feeling of continuity between parent and child, and the frequent strong affection between siblings, the Sollia people are not much concerned with kinship, and it does not regulate their behavior to any great extent.

The marriage tie between spouses is, on the other hand, very strong, and looms implicitly in much social behavior. Only one instance of divorce is known from the area, where a woman married a man in a neighboring valley, only later to obtain a divorce, return home, and remarry. Before marriage, there is much sexual license, with the old custom of "Saturday night proposals" in the lady's bedroom (following Friday night sweatbaths) surviving and functioning. These relations sooner or later result in informal engagements, and as soon as feasible (or necessary) the couple marries. Of the last five weddings in the valley, four were decided on after pregnancy. This fact is generally recognized and not frowned upon. In some cases, a child results from an otherwise unsuccessful combination; especially when one of the parties is from outside the valley, marriage does not necessarily result, and the explanation offered is that they did not suit each other. No serious stigma is attached to the parents or the illegitimate child itself; in one case, the farmer on one of the largest farms, still unmarried, adopted his own illegitimate son, and will soon pass the farm on to him.

With marriage this freedom ceases, and there seem to be few cases of infidelity. The complete tie of loyalty between spouses is always assumed; in matters of economy, in social relations, and in voting, spouses almost in-

variably have the same opinions. Presumably, the spouses have, through their period of premarital experimentation, found an agreeable and suitable partner.

SOCIAL CLASS AND DIVISION OF LABOR

On the farm there is a systematic division of labor along sex lines, in which the male and female roles are clearly defined. No strict rules or taboos are connected with this; the reasons given are those of efficacy. Where the woman is weak or there are only sons, the men often assist with the milking and tending of the cattle, normally woman's work. Where there is a deficiency of male help, on the other hand, male labor is usually hired, since logging, plowing, and heavy work is thought to be too hard for the women. Almost all such outside help is bought for cash payment; there is no community labor and little exchange of favors and help. Formerly, when the valley was not so closely tied to the world market and money was less used, the exchange of help was practiced from common necessity. As soon as cash became generally distributed, direct hiring was preferred, so as to reduce, as much as possible, the system of reciprocal obligations between farms. Today, voluntary help is extended only in the occasional situation when special knowledge and skill is needed, as when the neighbor's cow is calving, when machinery breaks down, etc. More extensive help has lately been given only for patriotic reasons, such as harvesting for the family of imprisoned members of the community during the Nazi occupation.

There is one additional economic activity: trade and transportation. All communication is by road, mainly by means of two busses, several transport trucks, and the milk truck. There is a taxi in the valley, serving also as a school bus. These activities mostly give *temporary* employment to men in

the area. Being the only local alternative to farming, offering responsibility and freedom from the father's farm, in addition to a fair cash income, truck driving has considerable prestige as an occupation for younger men. It often serves to make the son economically independent of the parents and thus able to marry. After a while the novelty of driving wears off, and the discomforts of a long truck line with bad equipment on a narrow road become apparent. When the old man retires from the farm, the opportunity to return to farm work is usually taken advantage of. On the other hand, truck driving provides a route of urban mobility, and may thus relieve the area of some population excess.

The only alternative to farm work, truck driving, thus tends to be in the hands of a fraction of the males of the age group 20-35, and offers opportunity for early marriage to men not interested in developing new farms. The group performing these functions has no special social position, the occupation being essentially temporary.

The only retail trade outlet is a general store, owned by one married man. The storekeeper, rather than having a defined special status, may be regarded as marginal to the local social system. Similarly, the school teacher usually changes every year or two, and is not integrated into the local society, though he has considerable prestige.

Essentially, we have a classless society consisting of small farmers. A small, closely knit family performs the work on the farm. The farm is economically an independent unit, containing within itself the means and mechanisms of production, the capital, labor, and land. Similarly, the farm is a socially independent unit, inhabited by a group of people with their main loyalties to each other, and with few obligations extending outward. Due to the uniformity of activities, there is no class division of society.

Let us investigate to what extent these farm family blocks are tied together in a more complex social structure through other types of social relations, regulated through membership in formalized or informal social groups.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL GROUPS

A certain number of formal groups exist, organized on the pattern of such groups in lowland Norway. Of these, there are two types: the various county committees with predominantly male membership, and four clubs with all-woman membership. The county committees have express governmental functions, and very little social interaction goes on before or after the meetings. Although the members are generally unable to agree on anything, the meetings give an impression as impersonal and businesslike as an urban city-hall debate. No latent social functions seem to be important, which is indicated by the fact that most members of the community find the responsibility and the work very ungratifying, and seriously try to avoid nomination. Thus persons not present at the meeting are usually nominated and elected for office.

In the women's clubs, on the other hand, a recreational function is present and can hardly be called latent, although each organization is avowedly for some practical purpose. The rotating meetings also provide a setting for conspicuous waste and similar social competition. The clubs decided to check this tendency, setting three kinds of cookies as the maximum to be served at meetings. This decision is being sabotaged.

The clubs are mostly recent introductions, and copied from similar clubs in lowland Norway. They differ from their lowland models mostly in their reduced formality, lack of program, etc., and the self-consciousness of the chairman. A sports club ex-

isted for a while; but, since numerous attempts at introducing team sports have all been unsuccessful, the club never became very popular.

Informal groups, on the other hand, flourish, and provide a framework for the many aggressions that seem to build up so easily in a small community. Although both sexes participate in these groups, the women are by far the most active. These cliques work in an ever-changing net of friendship, involving visits from one farm to another. The visits are between women around lunch time, when morning chores are done, and before dinner is to be prepared—or else after the evening's work in the barn is over, at which time they are usually joint husband-wife expeditions. They seldom involve more than two persons, subsidiarily two couples. The uniting ties are most frequently a common dislike of a person; thus they change constantly according to the latest grudges. As a commentary on the kinship feeling, it is interesting to note that a person is committed to his spouse's grudges, but children visit freely on the farms where their parents would not think of appearing.

However, a large proportion of the couples do not take part in any of these feuding cliques, and do not thereby lose any social prestige. Since conflicts in general are frowned upon, the more passive would rather be thought of as wiser, and gain in prestige from not participating. One farmer, quite well thought of, has literally no interaction with people, other than for economic reasons. The couple never visits anybody, and it was specifically remembered that they had been to a funeral more than a year before. Thus, even the informal cliques, although intricate and very important to some people, do not seem to complicate the basic social structure to any great extent. The system retains its segmented character, with each farm as a

semi-independent economic and social unit.

RECREATION AND RELIGION

The church was formerly an important recreational institution, where all church festivals, births, weddings, and deaths were celebrated. With the progressive secularization that has taken place in rural Norway, a big dance hall and meeting house has taken over the recreational functions, and the church is now infrequently visited. Although the people supposedly subscribe to the pan-Norwegian Lutheran ideas and dogmas, religion seems to be quite without interest to the great majority of them—a Durkheimian commentary to the considerable segmentation of the society itself, the lack of community cooperation and integration. There is no local supernatural tradition, and the occasional ghost stories receive, in general, little attention.

The dance hall is an interesting example of a specialized recreational institution, providing for a major part of the social recreation that the Sollia male needs. He frequents no clubs, is often not active in any clique, and the semi-monthly dance is the main occasion when he has non-economic interaction with persons outside the elementary family. Couples temporarily involved in personal feuds tend to stay away from these occasions; any sign of personal conflict is here very bad taste. Interestingly enough, the very few fights that occur are between father and grown son. In this friendly atmosphere, a great amount of more-or-less-distilled denatured alcohol—as well as some good liquor—is consumed, and everybody dances all night, the party usually lasting until four or six o'clock in the morning.

The other male recreational activities are shooting—in infrequent competitions, and hunting. Hunting is mostly done quite alone, and may involve as much as a two- to three-day

trip. It is now done in the appropriate season, the importance of game conservation largely having been understood.

ADAPTIVE ASPECTS

These local cultural patterns have some outstanding features that may be seen to be highly adaptive in the local ecological setting. Economically, they are characterized by the extensive use that is made of the natural resources. This is made possible by the *great variety of activities performed*, the *lack of occupational specialization*, and the *small size of the productive unit*. The natural resources are not very great; there are no minerals in the rock or sources of power for industry. Local subsistence must be based on biotic resources, of which almost complete use is made. The various activities connected with these are mostly strictly seasonal; thus no specialization in occupation is feasible—the labor expended on haying in July must be transferred to collecting lichen in September and floating timber in May. The small size of the productive unit, in effect one adult male, the head of the elementary family, also makes more complete exploitation possible. Small fields may be worked, which is very important where the local topography breaks up the best farm land in very small sections. A pattern of very scattered land use can thus be established. Where a great number of activities should be performed, small units also add to the flexibility of the system. Labor can better be divided according to the immediate and local needs; for example, the possibilities offered by a passing fox or a local shower can better be taken advantage of. The small size of the individual farms and their social and economic independence of each other is thus clearly economically functional, and this segmentation of society must have been even more important before,

when transportation was more difficult and population even more scattered.

Directly connected with the social separateness of farms is a relatively greater emphasis on the element of continuity in the parent-child relationship. This becomes important to the social system also in an indirect way. The elementary family being socially and economically isolated, most of the child's contacts are with parents and siblings. And the learning process, preparing the child for the specific activities of the adult, is a comfortable one of copying, working alongside the parent, and receiving praise for every advance. Parenthood receives much cultural attention: children should be loved and well cared for. Home is a very secure place.

At the age of seven the child starts school; up till 1949, this meant attending a boarding school on a two-week-there—two-week-home basis. This is the child's first meeting with the larger society, and it is thoroughly ungratifying. The school yard for the first three classes presents a picture of ten to twelve unsocialized little beings, not used to—and therefore unable to play with—each other, with their attention centered on the teacher as a substitute parent and source of affection. The slower children, who also find the actual school work very difficult, often experience a completely rebellious fear reaction to school, and may run away. The old people, talking of their childhood, will volunteer stories about leaving mother to go the long way to school, and how they sat down and cried when they had turned the first bend in the road, where mother could not see them. Farm work and home life, on the other hand, continue to be more gratifying. No great amount of labor is required of the child till the age of eighteen or twenty, when he is expected either to find other work or start in full time on the home farm. The resulting attitude toward larger

groups and institutions, as contrasted to the comfortable feeling about home life, is strikingly harmonious with the segmented social structure. And the great stress on loyalty between spouses, together with the period of premarital experimentation assuring a fairly successful match, becomes clearly functional in this framework. One thus finds the attitudes and general personality structure in very close harmony with the institutional framework, and the people very well satisfied with the latter. The daily routine is to the local individual simple and natural, and each activity performed is at once a part of productive, recreational, and family patterns; on the farm, the various parts of culture make up a tangled bundle, in which also traits of nature belong as equivalent phenomena. And the activities give both satisfaction and results—so much so that the author's host, a very competent and intelligent farmer from a low-lying, much richer agricultural region, felt so satisfied, during a period as a temporary caretaker on a farm here, that he decided to settle down in this much less productive area.

CULTURAL CHANGE

The segmented nature of the local society and the simplicity of the cultural institutions and their interrelations has a further, incidental, adaptive value: ability to survive changes, to adjust to new activities without remodelling any intricate institutional system. Sollia has become a part of the world economic system within the memory of old people, and the whole economy, together with some aspects of the social structure, has been strongly modified, without any general cultural breakdown resulting. These changes had not yet progressed very far in 1880, when the following situation seems to have prevailed:

The economic activities were even more varied than they are today. All

trade was conducted in a market center 30 miles distant—over roadless mountains; and the individual farmer had to make horse-and-sled expeditions, preferably in early winter, to that far-off market. There, butter was sold to city buyers. Grain and flour were procured by barter with the local farmers there, mostly in exchange for tar. A certain quantity of logs were floated down the river; but most of the forest's production was actually transported across the mountains in the form of tar, burned locally in Sollia. Local iron-smelting from bog iron had been discontinued some 100 years earlier; so all iron had to be imported. But other utensils, clothing, shoes, and other leather work were all produced locally by a class of craftsmen. The latter ran small farms on the side, and had their defined rights and privileges in the community. No machinery was used in farming and methods were in general less efficient than now, so that the need for labor was greater. To satisfy this need, there was a landless class—generally of recent immigrants—who worked on other peoples' land on a sharecropper basis. They had very little prestige, and generally sought as quickly as possible to clear their own land and start their own farms. There was a constantly rising population, resulting from large numbers of children and from immigration from other valleys where population pressure was even greater. Local population pressure was relieved by the clearing of new farm land, and by emigration, mostly to the towns; earlier some of the emigrants had gone to northern Norway.

Around 1880, an economic revolution started that lasted up to the First World War and reshaped the society, though not the local culture. It was made possible by a fad-like large-scale

emigration to America, involving as many as 30 persons of a total population of 450 in the peak year of 1883. In this period, also, the road down the valley was built, heavy transportation became possible, marketing possibilities and resultant cash increased, the general standard of living was raised, local handicraft became unnecessary, and new agricultural techniques and machinery were introduced—all at the same time the population was being reduced by emigration. Socially, what happened was the elimination of the landless class, the partial elimination of the craftsman class, and the survival of only the landowning-farmer segment of society. The landless class became unnecessary in the economy, following the introduction of machinery and rationalization of techniques. Its members either went to America, married the only child on a farm, or started their own farms. The services of the craftsman class were no longer vital to the community; they mostly cleared more land and added on to their old farms, making them full size. Many of them, and also many an only son on a big farm, left for America. The result of these changes was the modern Sollia community, representing actually only a segment—the largest and most important segment—of the old society. This segment is now dependent on the larger Norwegian society outside the valley, rather than a local class, for certain aspects of its livelihood. The main behavior patterns, the main parts of the culture, still survive and function in the new context, as indicated also by the old peoples' satisfaction with the general state of affairs. Together, they make up an integrated system of behavior, well adapted to the local area, and closely tied to the larger society outside.

ORGANIZED FARMERS IN OKLAHOMA*

by Robert A. Rohwert†

ABSTRACT

The following findings are reported in this article: (1) Farmers who belonged to a major, general-interest farm organization had higher social and economic status than unorganized farmers. Significant differences were found in nine of ten variables. (2) Organized farmers were not significantly different from unorganized farmers in factors which might affect ability to participate in meetings: nearness to good roads, mobility, and family composition. (3) Scarcely any significant differences could be found between Farm Bureau members and Farmers' Union members. (4) In Pittsburg County, an area of very low rural level of living, and among farm laborers in the four counties where they were interviewed, almost no general farm organization memberships were found.

In earlier times, when everyone was either a farmer or a part-time farmer, farmers did not need to organize to defend themselves in the market place and the legislature. Farm interests were public interests. But as farming became more commercial and less self-sufficient, and, as farmers became a minority in the total population, being organized became more important to them. The organization of farmers is of obvious importance to nonfarmers, too; for they must have food and fiber from the farms. The student of rural and urban contemporary society needs to know who the organized farmers are and how they differ from unorganized farmers.

This paper analyzes the differences between Oklahoma farmers who belong to farmers' organizations and those who do not. An attempt is also made to determine whether members of the Farmers' Union are different from the farms. The student of rural personal and social characteristics,

social and economic status than do unorganized farmers. More specifically, it was expected that farmers who belonged to one of the three major, general-interest farm organizations,¹ as compared with nonmember farmers, would: have greater gross farm income and greater family income; operate larger farms under more favorable tenure arrangements; hire farm laborers more often; tend to be the commercial type of farmer; have more formal education; be active church members more often; participate more fully in all types of social life; and rate higher on a socio-economic status index. The study confirms each of these specific hypotheses, except the one concerning membership and activity in a church. In general, a significant difference was found between organized and unorganized farmers.

Another hypothesis was that farmers who belong to a general farmers' organization may be able to participate in the meetings more readily than unorganized farmers, because of differences in age, family composition, location, or past mobility. However, the data available did not reveal that organized farmers were nearer to good roads, had moved less often, or had fewer young children at home. The or-

HYPOTHESES AND SUMMARY

The principal hypothesis, which the data substantiate for the most part, is that organized farmers have a higher

*A contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

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¹ Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers' Union.

ganized farmers may have been drawn somewhat disproportionately from men of "middle age" (by farm standards), men between 45 and 54 years old, but it is not certain that they were.

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union is proud of its efforts to promote family-type farming and regards itself as the voice of the small and middle-sized farmer. The American Farm Bureau Federation is less ardent in advocating family-type farming and is sometimes accused of speaking mainly for large farmers. Because of these differences in program and reputation, a popular belief is that Farm Bureau members are different from Farmers' Union members. It was thought that the Farm Bureau members might operate larger farms; have more income and more tenure security; hire more farm work done; and be more the commercial type of farmer than the Farmers' Union members. To the extent that education, social participation, socio-economic status, location, mobility, and size of family are concomitants of being in the "upper third" of agriculture, it seemed reasonable to expect that Farm Bureau members might reflect a more privileged position than Farmers' Union members. However, scarcely any significant differences could be demonstrated, on the basis of the data obtained in this study. Farm Bureau members seemed to have more years of formal schooling, somewhat higher socio-economic status, and somewhat greater total family income (but no greater gross farm income). The differences were slight, however. In all other comparisons, statistically significant differences could not be shown. Similarity, or failure to prove difference, was much more frequent than difference between the members of the two organizations.

SOURCES OF DATA

Most of the data analyzed here were gathered in 1947 by Robert T. McMillan

in four Oklahoma counties: Pittsburg, Mayes, Blaine, and Comanche. These counties are located, respectively, in the southeast, northeast, northwest, and southwest portions of Oklahoma. This "random-sample survey"² yielded 741 usable schedules.

The principal analyses were repeated with data collected in 1943 from Jackson County and selected townships in four adjacent counties in the cotton area of southwestern Oklahoma: Tillman, Kiowa, Greer, and Harmon. The 273 schedules from this area were part of the Southwestern Regional Land Tenure project.³

Sampling in both cases was on a grid basis. The farm families interviewed probably are reasonably close to a random sample of the areas surveyed, judged by the correspondence of sample data with census data for the counties, and by the methods used to select the farm families. However, the areas surveyed do not constitute, in any strict sense, a sample of the state of Oklahoma, even though the 1947 data are drawn from four widely separated, divergent areas within the state. Since the focus of this study is relationships among variables rather than descriptive frequencies, uncertainty as to whether the sample represents the state is not a serious deficiency.

Only the 1947 data were used in the comparison of members of the Farmers' Union with members of the Farm Bureau, because in 1943 the Oklahoma Farm Bureau was so recently organized that few Bureau members were found in the sample.

² Robert T. McMillan, "Comparison of Veterans and Nonveterans on Oklahoma Farms," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXIX, 214.

³ For a discussion of area selection and sampling procedure, see Robert T. McMillan, *Social Factors Related to Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: AES Tech. Bull. T-22, October, 1945), pp. 25-27.

ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Operators of farms meeting the Census definition of a farm were first classified into three groups: (1) members of a general farm organization—the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, or the Grange;⁴ (2) farm operators who were not members of a general farm organization, but who belonged to a farm cooperative (other than the REA) or to some other agricultural association, such as a livestock breeders' or crop growers' organization; and (3) farm operators who belonged to none of the above farm organizations.

Association between farm organization membership and other variables was measured by the coefficient of contingency, and the chi-square test of significance was used.

Relationships were sought first with the three categories of membership as a basis of classification. The analyses were repeated using only two categories: (1) members of a general farm organization, and (2) others.

Chi-square and contingency were also used in comparing Farmers' Union and Farm Bureau members.

⁴ Grange members are not analyzed as a separate group in this report, because the areas of greatest strength for the Oklahoma Grange did not fall in the areas surveyed.

MAJOR FINDINGS, 1947 DATA

Of the 166 farm-operator families interviewed in Pittsburg County in 1947, none was a member of a general farm organization except one man who had recently moved into the area. Only two reported belonging to a cooperative or other agricultural association. The distribution of farm organization memberships among the farm operators interviewed in the four counties in 1947 is presented in Table 1.

Of 15 hired men interviewed in the four-county study, not one was a member of a general farm organization.

The lack of memberships among the farmers of the southeastern Oklahoma county and the absence of general farm organization members among farm wage workers are perhaps the two most important facts found. However, in comparing the characteristics of organized and unorganized farmers, it seemed best to limit the sample to farm operators and to eliminate the schedules from Pittsburg County, so that the comparisons of the organized and the unorganized would be confined to farmers living within the same general localities.

Farm organization membership varied significantly among Oklahoma counties, even with Pittsburg County

TABLE 1. FARM ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP OF FARM OPERATORS IN FOUR OKLAHOMA COUNTIES, 1947*

County	Number belonging to:			Total farmers interviewed
	A general farm organization	A cooperative or agricultural association	No farm organization	
Pittsburg	1	2	163	166
Mayes	13	11	196	220
Blaine	33	21	119	173
Comanche	53	16	113	182
FOUR COUNTIES	100	50	591	741

* The coefficient of contingency for this table, corrected for broad grouping, is .44, with a *p* value of <.001.

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN FARM ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND SELECTED PERSONAL-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF FARM OPERATORS IN THREE OKLAHOMA COUNTIES, 1947

Farm operator's characteristic or circumstance	Number of cases* (N)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Significance level (p=)	Contingency coefficient** (\bar{c})
1. Gross farm income.....	523	14	<.001	.49
2. Total family income.....	545	12	<.001	.46
3. Size of farm, acres.....	570	14	<.001	.44
4. Tenure arrangement.....	568	10	<.02	.23
5. Cash paid to hired laborers.....	550	6	<.001	.38
6. Type of farming.....	498	10	<.001	.36
7. Years of formal schooling.....	560	10	<.01	.26
8. Church membership and attendance	572	8	<.10	.19
9. Social participation	575	10	<.001	.43
10. Socio-economic status	572	18	<.001	.50
11. Age of farmer.....	575	16	<.05	.25
12. Number of children under age five, at home.....	575	4	<.50	.12
13. Distance to an all-weather road.	550	10	<.70	.15
14. Mobility index	551	10	<.20	.20
15. County of residence.....	575	4	<.001	.38

*The number of cases varies somewhat because information was not available on some items.

**Corrected for broad grouping.

omitted. This and the association of farm organization membership with other variables may be seen in Table 2. Organized farmers, as compared with nonmember farmers, had greater gross farm income and greater total family income. At least some members were found in each income group, but farmers in the highest income brackets were disproportionately represented. Similarly, the largest farms were most represented in organization ranks. Few memberships were found on farms much smaller than 160 acres.

Tenure was less clearly associated with organization membership, in the three-county sample. Part owners, both those with a mortgage and those with no mortgage on their owner-operated land, appeared on organization rolls most often. Full owners having no mortgages on their land, and related tenants, were in a middle position. Mortgaged full owners and unrelated tenants belonged least often.

Because organized farmers influence legislation affecting farm wage workers, the representation of employing and nonemploying farmers in general farm organizations is of interest. Almost half of the farmers interviewed in the three counties had hired no wage work done in the previous year. But only one in fifteen of these nonemployers belonged to a general farm organization. Approximately one farm operator in eight had paid \$500 or more to hired farm laborers in the previous year. Nearly half of these employers belonged to a farm organization.

When the respondents are classified by types of farming, the most conspicuous fact is that self-sufficing farmers rarely belonged to farm organizations. Their not belonging may reflect an emphasis on economic and legislative affairs and a minimizing of social and educational features in the programs of farm organizations. Small grain and wheat growers, in this sample,

seemed to belong a bit more often than livestock, general, poultry, dairy, or cotton farmers.

The more years of schooling a farm operator had completed, the more likely he was to belong to a general farm organization.

Farm operators were classified in five categories according to their church attendance and membership.⁵ Little or no relationship between farm organization membership and church affiliation or participation was found.

Ratings on a general social participation scale⁶ were associated with farm organization membership.

Farm organization membership is clearly related to socio-economic status, as measured by the long form of the Sewell Socio-Economic Status Scale.⁷

In fact, every test of the central hypothesis, except the effort to relate church participation to farm organization membership, revealed a connection between economic or social-status variables and membership in a farm organization.

The youngest farm operators (under 30) and the oldest (65 or over) least often were members, while farmers be-

tween 45 and 54 years were most heavily represented in farm organizations. However, the association of age with membership is small and the significance level is marginal. Efforts to account for differential membership through factors thought to indicate ease in attending meetings were unsuccessful. The distance from the farm to an all-weather road, the number of moves made by the farm family in the last ten years or since its formation, and the number of small children in the family were unrelated to farm organization membership.

When the threefold classification was used, the farm operators who were not members of a general farm organization but who belonged to some other farmers' association or cooperative usually fell between the members of general farm organizations and members of no organization. When members of a general farm organization were compared with all others, the relationship between organization membership and the several variables was about the same as when all three categories were used—even though the chi-square values in three instances shifted to the opposite side of the five-per-cent level of significance.⁸

TWO SAMPLES COMPARED

The foregoing are the findings in three widely separated Oklahoma counties. The results of the analyses which could be repeated using southwestern Oklahoma data are shown in Table 3. The results are not the same in the two samples. In the south-

⁵ The categories were: (1) neither attends church nor belongs; (2) belongs but does not attend; (3) attends but does not belong; (4) attends and belongs; (5) attends and belongs to church, and also belongs to or attends an auxiliary church organization.

⁶ The scale, devised by Robert T. McMillan, is somewhat arbitrary, and intended only as a rough indicator. Scoring is as follows: one point for any organization membership, 2 for attendance, 3 for committee membership, 4 for officership, and 3-5 points for agricultural committee, school board, jury, and neighborhood group-leader participation. The emphasis on leadership in the weighting system may account for the association found.

⁷ William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: AES Tech. Bull. No. 9, April, 1940).

⁸ When farm organization membership was changed from three categories to two, by consolidating "members of a cooperative or an agricultural association" with "members of no farm organization," the results for test 8 were $p = <.05$, $\delta = .17$; test 11, $p = <.10$, $\delta = .20$; and in test 14, $p = <.05$, $\delta = .19$. In each of the twelve other tests, altering the classification changed the significance levels and the contingency coefficients very little, if any.

TABLE 3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN FARM ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND SELECTED PERSONAL-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF FARM OPERATORS IN A SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA SAMPLE, 1943

Farm operator's characteristic or circumstance	Number of cases* (N)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Significance level (p=)	Contingency coefficient** (\bar{c})
1. Farm income	265	10	<.50	.24
3. Size of farm, acres	273	8	<.20	.26
4. Tenure arrangement	273	8	<.001	.37
7. Years of formal schooling	258	8	<.30	.24
10. Socio-economic status	273	12	<.001	.37
11. Age of farmer***	272	12	<.05	.33
12. Number of children under age five, at home	272	2	<.50	.11

*The number of cases varies somewhat because information was not available on some items.

**Corrected for broad grouping.

***When farm organization membership was classified in only two categories instead of three, the results for test 11 were $p = <.20$, $\bar{c} = .25$. In each of the other tests of Table 3, altering the classification made little change in significance levels or contingency coefficients. (See also footnote 8.)

western area sample, farm organization membership was not associated significantly with farm income, size of farm, or with years of formal schooling, while in the three-county data, highly significant associations were found. The association of farm organization membership with tenure, socio-economic status, age of farm operator, and family composition is similar in the two areas.

An explanation of these differences can only be an *ex post facto* interpretation and the basis for a fresh hypothesis. Some of the seven variables investigated in both samples are much more definitely concomitants of area

or region than are others.⁹ Farm income and size of farm are very different in Mayes, Blaine, and Comanche counties—the three-county sample. Tenure arrangements, socio-economic status scores, and education also vary by county. But the number of children under five years of age and the age of farm operators do not differ greatly from one county to another.

As was shown in Table 1 and test 15 of Table 2, farm organization membership varies a great deal by county. In the three-county sample, the significant association of membership with farm income, farm size, and years of schooling probably reflects strongly the fact

⁹ For example, note the following differences among the three counties in the 1947 sample (data from U. S. Census, except as otherwise indicated):

	County:		
	Blaine	Comanche	Mayes
Average value per farm of all products sold or used, in dollars, 1945	4,546	2,933	1,490
Average farm size in acres, 1945	288.4	274.2	138.8
Per cent of tenancy, 1945	36.5	43.7	24.3
Per cent of rural-farm persons 25 years and over who had completed more than 8 years of school, 1940	30.8	27.5	18.1
Average farm operator socio-economic status score, 1947 (estimated from sample data)	177.0	171.3	157.9
Average age of farm operators, 1945	46.8	47.3	48.9
Per cent which children under 5 were of total rural-farm population, 1940	11.08	11.11	10.99

that a relatively unorganized county is different from a highly organized county.

Within a single county, or in a homogeneous local area such as the southwestern sample area, farm organization members seem to be drawn from about the same gross-income, farm-size, and education categories as nonmembers. It would seem that socio-economic status scores and tenure arrangements should follow the pattern of the factors that vary by area, but they do not. Perhaps they vary significantly both by area and by family within an area. Judging both from the sample of a homogeneous area and the sample of three diverse areas, the relationship of farm organization membership with age of farmer and number of young children varies little, if at all, between either areas or families within the same area.

The explanation for varying results in the two samples, then, is that in some instances farm organization members differ from nonmembers because the members are unlike their neighbors, and in other instances because organizations flourish in some areas and not in dissimilar areas. Disparate results between the two samples occurred mainly in those tests of characteristics most likely to reflect the difference between a composite sample of three diverse areas and a more homogeneous sample from a single area.

FARMERS' UNION AND FARM BUREAU COMPARED

The results of comparing Farmers' Union and Farm Bureau members are summarized in Table 4. Significant associations between a farm operator's choice of farm organization and his personal-social characteristics and cir-

TABLE 4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN FARM OPERATORS' CHOICE OF FARM ORGANIZATION AND SELECTED PERSONAL-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CIRCUMSTANCES, THREE OKLAHOMA COUNTIES, 1947

Farm operator's characteristic or circumstance	Number of cases* (N)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Significance level (p=)	Contingency coefficient** (δ)
1. Gross farm income.....	107	6	<.10	.39
2. Total family income.....	108	5	<.05	.41
3. Size of farm, acres.....	107	5	<.20	.35
4. Tenure arrangement	109	5	<.10	.38
5. Cash paid to hired farm laborers.	104	4	<.20	.33
6. Type of farming.....	105	2	<.30	.23
7. Years of formal schooling.....	109	4	<.01	.50
8. Church membership and attendance	110	4	<.80	.18
9. Social participation	110	5	<.20	.34
10. Socio-economic status	110	5	<.05	.40
11. Age of farmer.....	110	6	<.70	.26
12. Number of children under age five, at home.....	110	1	<.70	.10
13. Distance to an all-weather road.	103	3	<.70	.20
14. Mobility index	109	3	<.30	.27
15. County of residence.....	110	2	<.20	.29

*The number of cases varies somewhat because some items of information were not available for all farm organization members.

**Corrected for broad grouping.

cumstances were few.¹⁰ Farm Bureau members in this sample appear to have had a little more formal schooling, and more of them enjoy a high total family income and a high socio-economic status. But the number of characteristics for which no significant association with choice of farm organization was found is more impressive than these three differences. The hypothesis that Farm Bureau members represent a considerably more privileged position within agriculture than Farmers' Union members is not substantiated by these data.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions or interpretations may be drawn from the findings of this study:

1. This study, like others,¹¹ has indicated that organized farmers are somewhat better off financially and socially than are unorganized farmers. Although significance levels were high, coefficients of association between organization membership and economic and social status were only moderate. Whether the present organizations may properly claim to speak for *all* farmers is a moot question—although raising

the question is not to imply that any other currently existing agency within agriculture is better able, nor that farmers are more imperfectly represented by their organizational spokesmen than are other segments of our society by theirs.

2. Several unexploited opportunities for farm organizations are evident in these findings.

a. General farm organizations in Oklahoma either have not tried or have not succeeded in including farm laborers in their membership. If their program is educational, social, and at least partly community-centered, rather than narrowly concerned with the economic and legislative affairs of farm operators, here is an undeveloped potential membership. Or, if the organizations view farm wage work as a step toward farm operatorship, it would seem appropriate that some hired men be encouraged to participate before they assume operatorship. If it is impossible to develop a program of interest to farm laborers or to view them as potential farm operators, then farm laborers merit an organization of their own if they are not to be left out in a society of organized business, organized labor, and organized farm operators.

b. Some whole areas in Oklahoma in 1947 were almost totally undeveloped frontiers for new membership. A tentative conclusion from the study is that the differences between the organized and unorganized farmers are due, in large part, to the fact that the farmers in unorganized areas are different from the farmers in highly organized areas. Of the counties surveyed, Pittsburg, where there were almost no members, had the lowest level of living. The areas most in need of the educational phases and perhaps the action aspects of farm organizations' pro-

¹⁰ The fact that 11 of the 99 farm organization members belonged to both the Farmers' Union and the Farm Bureau presented a problem. It was decided to make the membership, rather than the farmer, the unit considered. So these 11 farmers appear as 22 "cases." The decision was rationalized on the ground that either organization, reporting facts concerning its own membership, would include all its members regardless of whether they belonged to a second organization. No justification for omitting these eleven farmers completely because of their duplicate membership and no justification for assigning them to one organization instead of the other occurred to the investigator. This decision obviously made significant difference between the two groups less likely.

¹¹ See the nation-wide survey by Elmo Roper reported in *Fortune*, Vol. 27 (April, 1943), pp. 8-16.

grams were almost completely neglected.

c. Subsistence farmers, who consume a major fraction of what they produce, were also scarcely represented. Part-time farmers (who worked off their farms 150 days or more in 1944) are sufficiently numerous in Oklahoma¹² and in the nation that farm organizations might

well deliberately decide whether or not to make a campaign to include them.

3. From the fact that Farm Bureau members and Farmers' Union members are no more different than they are, it can be inferred that the two organizations differ more in their ideologies than in their vested interests. The possibility is also suggested that differences between the two organizations' programs may be exaggerated by the organizations themselves, by the press, and by the public.

¹² See Robert A. Rohwer, "Fewer Full-Time Farmers," *Current Farm Economics*, Vol. 23, No. 5 (October, 1950), pp. 153-156.

FARM VERSUS VILLAGE LIVING: A DECADE OF CHANGE*

By Marvin J. Taves†

ABSTRACT

This study summarizes data for Isanti County, Minnesota, which indicate that both rural farm and rural nonfarm women experienced improvements in living conditions between 1940 and 1950, the farm group to a greater extent than the nonfarm group. An attempt is made to test the hypothesis that there is a direct relationship between such environmental improvements and improvement in living satisfaction among rural women. It is concluded that there is a direct association between living conditions and living satisfactions, but that this is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship. The farm women, who reported a lower level of living in 1950 than that reported by the village women in 1940, nevertheless had definitely higher living satisfaction scores in 1950 than their village sisters had had in 1940.

INTRODUCTION

The literature on factors influencing rural living satisfactions suggests that improvement in rural living conditions should result in increased living satisfaction among rural people. Edgar C. McVoy, in reporting a study made in 1940, concluded that among rural people "the nature and extent of wants

and the degree of their satisfaction differ with variations in age, occupation, place of living, nationality, education, socio-economic status, social participation, and family composition."¹ He reported finding direct associations between degree of satisfaction with living conditions and (a) income, (b) socio-economic status, (c) social par-

*The author is indebted to Dr. Lowry Nelson, who, out of his familiarity with the 1940 study, made valuable suggestions which were incorporated in the restudy and in this manuscript.

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¹ Cf. Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. No. 370, *Satisfactions in Living: Farm Versus Village* (June, 1943); also, "How Satisfying Is Rural Life?" by Lowry Nelson and Edgar McVoy, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September, 1942).

ticipation, (d) general adjustment, (e) self-rating of personal happiness, and (f) education. More recent studies emphasize improvement in rural living conditions since the depression decade, pointing to such things as increased mechanization of agriculture, electrification of farms, and the improved financial status of agriculture in general.²

THE PROBLEM

Three major questions pose themselves: (1) To what extent have rural living conditions changed? (2) To what extent has the agricultural group participated in these changes? (3) What differences, if any, have the environmental changes effected in the living satisfactions of rural people? This report presents data which suggest some answers to these questions. The first two queries will be answered more adequately for the larger population as analyses of the 1950 census are published; answers to the last will have to continue to be based on other than census data. *The primary problem of this study is to determine what changes have occurred in rural living conditions, and the extent to which concomitant changes have occurred in living satisfaction attitudes.*

NATURE OF THE DATA

The data for this study are from several sources: the 1940 decennial census, the 1945 census of agriculture, and two interview surveys. The two surveys, the first conducted by McVoy in 1940 and the second by a University of Minnesota class in rural sociology under the supervision of the writer, were both done on carefully selected random samples of (a) rural farm homemakers in Isanti County and (b) homemakers in the village of Cam-

bridge.³ Isanti County lies forty miles north of Minneapolis; Cambridge, a village of 1,600 residents, is its largest population center. In agricultural productivity and average value of farms, this rural county ranks near the median among the counties of the state.

The interview schedules incorporated the Sewell Socio-Economic Status Scale, the Chapin Social Participation Scale, the Living Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction Scale devised by McVoy for the 1940 study, a direct residence-preference question, and a series of background-information questions. The McVoy Scale, as used in this research, consists of 71 multiple-response statements, such as, "In terms of length of working hours would you say yours are: very good, good, fair, or very poor?" The 71 items deal with food, clothing, educational opportunities, household conveniences, house and yard, health, recreation, social participation, working conditions, transportation, and financial and social security.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON ENVIRONMENT

That a number of important changes occurred in the county during the decade from 1940 to 1950 can readily be noted (Table 1). Both the farm and village groups achieved a higher socioeconomic status score in '50 than in '40. The improvement of the farm group is statistically significant at the 1 per cent level, that of the village group at

³ The 1940 survey data represent 60 farm and 52 village interviews. The 1950 survey data represent 48 farm and 35 village interviews. Of the 50 in the proposed 1950 village sample, 15 were lost when a torrential rain during the afternoon of the interviews made it necessary to call in the student interviewers before each could complete all his assignments. Since each interviewer had been assigned to a small area of the village, the uninterviewed residences of the original sample were quite evenly distributed throughout the village and their omission should therefore not materially affect the validity of the data because of non-randomness of the obtained sample.

² See, for example, Dorothy Dickens, "The Southern Farm Family in an Era of Change," *Rural Sociology*, September, 1950, pp. 232-241.

the 5 per cent level. It is important to note that, in spite of the ten-point increase (65.1-74.9) by the farm women, the farm socio-economic status score in 1950 was still slightly below that already achieved by the village sample in 1940. The relative position of the two residence groups apparently did not change appreciably on this index over the ten-year period.

The pattern of change in social participation is similar in several respects to that noted for socio-economic status. The scores for both farm and village groups were higher in the restudy than in the original study. The difference for farm responses was significant at the 5 per cent level; that for the village sample fell far below this level. Thus, the average participation scores of farm housewives advanced significantly while those of the village housewives remained relatively stable. Again, the 1950 farm score (13.4) still fell short of the average score already made ten years earlier by the village women (16.9).

Just as the farm sample's advance on social participation exceeded the improvements reflected by the village group, so on education the farm women

advanced significantly (C.R. = 13.3), while the village women showed no appreciable gain. Though these data might at first be viewed skeptically, the greater reduction of average age among farm men and women over the last decade—along with the increased importance with which secondary education has been viewed in rural areas—would in part add credence to it.

Also of interest is the decline in average age of both the farm women and their husbands over the ten-year period, in contrast to the increased average age of the village women and their spouses. While of these changes only the decline in age of farm husbands approached significance at the 5 per cent level, preliminary releases based on the 1950 census indicate that the trends reflected in these data are likely to be characteristic of the area.

The incidence of such items as running water, power washing machines, and refrigerators (see Table 2 for complete listing) is generally acceptable as an index to the relative levels of living of comparable groups. The data available for Isanti County show that on most of the factors included in the study the farm population made con-

TABLE 1. AVERAGE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS SCORES, SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORES, YEARS OF EDUCATION, AGE, AND AGE OF HUSBANDS, FOR SAMPLES OF ISANTI COUNTY FARM AND VILLAGE WOMEN, 1940 AND 1950

Items	Average		Difference	Critical Ratio
	1940	1950	1950-1940	
Socio-economic status score:				
Farm	65.1	74.9	9.8	3.3
Village	76.0	83.7	7.7	2.4
Social participation score:				
Farm	7.7	13.4	5.7	2.1
Village	16.9	18.1	1.2	0.3
Years education:				
Farm	7.7	9.5	1.8	13.3
Village	9.7	9.9	0.2	0.3
Age, in years:				
Farm	46.3	45.3	- 1.0	0.6
Village	42.8	47.4	4.6	1.0
Husband's age, in years:				
Farm	53.9	49.1	- 4.8	1.9
Village	46.7	50.7	4.0	0.9

sistent—and in some cases almost phenomenal—progress during the decade; and that, in spite of these achievements, the village still holds a considerable advantage over the farm in regard to all but one of the items, that of having an automobile. Actually, the difference on this latter item is an insignificant one (Table 2).

Prerequisite to many farm and household conveniences is electric power. The tremendous impact of the government's sponsorship of the extension of electrical power in rural areas may be noted. Whereas only 19 per cent of the farms in Isanti County reported the use of electricity in 1940, and 27 per cent by 1945, in the 1950 sample 79 per cent reported using it.

A convenience which many farm wives have longed for, but for which they usually have to wait until they have electric power, is running water. Though the proportion of farms having running water decreased during the first half of the decade, the incidence of this convenience doubled during the last five years—only one-fourth of the farms having it in 1945, and over one-half having it by 1950. It is quite likely that a similar change would be found regarding the acquisition of mechanical refrigeration during this decade, were data on it available. It may be noted, however, that the incidence of refrigerators on farms exceeds that of

electricity, showing that ice or gas refrigeration is being employed in some farm homes which do not have electricity. This last is also true of power washers, the incidence of which far exceeds that of electricity.

The availability of transportation to the housewife, in terms of incidence of cars, apparently has not changed during the period, although a higher proportion of rural farm women may today be able to drive.⁴

The proportion of farms having telephones is gradually increasing, the increase naturally being greater during the postwar half of the decade. Today, approximately three-fourths of the county's farms have telephones. Almost all the farms have radios, the proportion having increased from 75 per cent to 96 per cent during the decade.

As already suggested, the discrepancies between proportions of farm and village women having the selected

⁴ With the increased mechanical reliability of modern cars, the greater ease of handling them, the better roads, and also the entrance of women into activities formerly restricted to male participation, it is likely that more farm women drive today than formerly. A Spokane County, Washington, study indicated that this is true, and that the resulting emancipation from dependence upon men of the household to drive for them is reflected in increased social participation on the part of the women.

TABLE 2. PROPORTIONS POSSESSING SELECTED LEVEL OF LIVING ITEMS, FOR SAMPLES OF ISANTI COUNTY FARM AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS, 1940, 1945, AND 1950

Level of Living Item	Farm			Village	Farm-Village Sample Difference*
	1940 Census	1945 Census	1950 Sample	1950 Sample	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	
Electricity	19	27	79	100	**21
Running water	31	27	54	97	**43
Power washer	—	—	91	100	9
Refrigeration	—	—	83	94	11
Radio	75	—	96	100	4
Telephone	61	65	75	86	11
Automobile	85	84	85	83	- 2
Daily paper	—	—	63	86	**23

*Village proportion minus farm proportion.

**Significant at the 5% level.

conveniences consistently favored the village. This advantage is statistically significant even for the small 1950 samples on three factors, namely, having running water in the home, taking a daily paper, and having electricity. While all the homes in the village sample had electricity, only 79 per cent in the farm sample had it. Similarly, all but two of the village homes enjoyed running water, whereas only a little over half of the farm sample homes had this convenience. The discrepancy between proportions taking a daily paper is not quite so great, but still the difference is 23 percentage points, the values being 86 per cent and 63 per cent, respectively.

At first glance the farm homes appear to have a slight advantage over those in the village in adequacy of living space (Table 3). Two rooms per person is generally thought a very adequate average. The village has a larger proportion of families with less than two rooms per person, but far fewer with less than one room per person (3%) than the farm group (17%). On the other hand, a far higher proportion of the farm families with adequate housing space have three and four or more rooms per person, the latter ratio often representing situations where the additional space is simply a waste. It may, therefore, be more accurate to declare that the advantages rest with the village, since six times as great a proportion of farm families as of village families have the wholly inadequate

space of less than one room per person. The better relative showing of the farm sample at the other end of the crowding scale must be strongly discounted because extra rooms, beyond a certain point, probably represent unused or largely wasted space. Thus, even here, the village may well represent the more desirable situation. This conclusion is further supported by data from the 1940 census, which show that 4.6 per cent of the farms had more than 1.5 persons per room (i.e., only two-thirds of a room, or less, per person, a value representing intensive crowding), while no village homes fall in this category.

To summarize the more noteworthy environmental changes: (1) both the farm and village women found themselves in a better situation as to socioeconomic status in 1950 than in 1940; (2) the farm women advanced significantly in social participation and in years of education, but the village women did not; (3) the average age of the women in the farm sample declined slightly, but that for the village women rose somewhat; while the average age of the farm husbands declined considerably and that of the village husbands increased somewhat; (4) on the whole, the village sample had a decided edge on the farm sample in 1950 on level-of-living indices, especially as to (a) having running water in the house, (b) taking a daily newspaper, and (c) having electricity. Furthermore, on each of the following, the

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS PER PERSON, FOR ISANTI COUNTY FARM AND VILLAGE SAMPLES, 1950

Rooms per Person Number	Farm		Village	
	Per cent		Per cent	
0.0 - 0.99.....	17	} 63	3	} 69
1.0 - 1.99.....	46		66	
2.0 - 2.99.....	19	} 37	29	} 31
3.0 - 3.99.....	6		2	
4.0 and over.....	12		0	
	100		100	

TABLE 4. AVERAGE DISSATISFACTION SCORES FOR SAMPLES OF ISANTI COUNTY FARM AND VILLAGE WOMEN, 1940 AND 1950

	Dissatisfaction Scores		Difference 1950-1940	Critical Ratio
	1940	1950		
Farm women	2.89	2.14	-.75	9.5
Village women	2.30	1.91	-.39	5.7

1950 farm average fell short of that already held by the village in 1940: (1) socio-economic status; (2) social participation; (3) education. The same would undoubtedly be shown for many of the level-of-living items, were the data on them available for comparison.

PATTERNS OF SATISFACTION-DISSATISFACTION

Satisfaction-dissatisfaction attitudes among the women apparently have shifted in keeping with these environmental changes (Table 4). The farm and village groups both showed a highly significant shift toward greater satisfaction (i.e., reported less dissatisfaction), the shift by the farm women being almost twice as great as that by the village women. In spite of this greater shift by the farm women, their average satisfaction score in 1950 was still well below that of the village women in 1950, though slightly above the 1940 village average. This suggests that the farm women today may be more easily satisfied in regard to environmental circumstances than were their village sisters in 1940, since the satisfaction score is now higher on farms than was the village score in 1940, while the farm level of living has not yet reached that of the village in 1940.

A study of the nature of the farm women's responses on the 71-item McVoy Dissatisfaction Scale gives some insight into ways and means of raising their level-of-living satisfaction. Immediately apparent is the instability of their dissatisfactions from 1940 to 1950 (Table 5). Only four of the items among those with which they were most dissatisfied in 1940 appear in a

similar list for 1950; and only three appear in both the 1940 and the 1950 lists of items with which they were least dissatisfied. However, none of the items in the "most dissatisfied" category shifted to the "least dissatisfied" category, or vice versa.

The four items which seem to have contributed strongly to the farm women's dissatisfaction in both 1940 and 1950 were: (1) savings, (2) sewage disposal system, (3) living room furniture, and (4) hours of work, in the sequence given, their order of importance being the same for both periods. These are all closely related to income or financial status, each requiring considerable money to procure or alleviate. The government planners as well as the husbands of farm wives, in this and similar areas, might find here a clue to help them in their efforts to bring more smiles to the farm wife's face and, at the same time, rise in her esteem.

Uppermost among the dissatisfactions reported by the farm women in 1950 was that concerning their children's job prospects. Apparently this dissatisfaction was related to the necessity for many farm youth to find nonfarm careers, and the fact that these young people have to compete with nonfarm youth whose education and general experience give them an advantage over the farm-reared youth.

Recent widespread agitation for extension of telephone facilities and improvement of service seems to be reflected in the fact that dissatisfaction with the telephone situation ranked third in 1950, while in 1940, when even fewer farmers had telephones, it did not even rank among the top ten. Oth-

er important sources of unhappiness for these women appear to be the condition of the lawn, lack of recreational facilities for their own use, an inadequate house or a need for repairs, difficulties in procuring the public library books they want, and a lack of books of their own.

In a further effort to determine their relative degree of satisfaction with their lot, the women were asked to indicate where they would choose to live if they had it to do over—in the city, in the village, or on the farm. The re-

sponses indicate that both groups are now more favorably disposed toward farm living than in 1940 (Table 6). Nevertheless, in 1950 only two-thirds of the farm women preferred the farm; almost one-third showed greater preference for the village; but only a few preferred the city. The village women were even stronger in their preference for the village at the later date, while the city had declined in its appeal to them.

It may be that the women's choice of residence for their children is an even

TABLE 5. ITEMS WITH WHICH ISANTI COUNTY FARM WOMEN REPORTED BEING MOST AND LEAST DISSATISFIED, IN RANK ORDER FOR 1940 AND 1950*

Items with which most dissatisfied		
Rank Order	1940	1950
1.	Savings	Children's job prospects
2.	Bathroom	Savings
3.	Vacations	Telephone
4.	Sewage disposal system	Lawn
5.	Living room furniture	Sewage disposal system
6.	Travel	Living room furniture
7.	Hours of work	Hours of work
8.	Old age care prospects	Recreation facilities for self
9.	Strenuousness of work	House
10.	Refrigerator	Public library books
11.	Books in home
Items with which least dissatisfied		
	1940	1950
59.	Hired help in home
60.	Neighborhood	Hired help outside the home
61.	Friends	Electricity
62.	Play space in yard	Refrigerator
63.	Family physician	Play space in yard
64.	Community	Care of mother before and during childbirth
65.	Milk and cream	Food
66.	Insurance on house	Insurance on house
67.	Visits from friends	Washing machine
68.	Newspapers	Milk and cream
69.	Room in house	Vacuum cleaner
70.	Outdoor sports	Meats
71.	Sleep	Kitchen stove

*For complete list of items included in scale, see Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. No. 370.

TABLE 6. RESIDENCE PREFERENCES REPORTED BY ISANTI COUNTY FARM AND VILLAGE WOMEN, FOR SELF AND FOR CHILDREN, 1940 AND 1950

Residence Preferences	1940	1950	Differences approach or exceed 5% level?*
<i>Own residence preferences</i>			
	Per cent	Per cent	
Farm women for:			
Farm	60	67	No
Village	23	30	No
City	12	1	No
No information.....	5	2	No
Village women for:			
Farm	2	6	No
Village	88	92	No
City	8	3	No
No information.....	2	0	No
<i>Residence preferences for their children</i>			
Farm women for:			
Farm	35	54	Yes
Village	7	25	Yes
City	8	13	Yes
No information.....	50	8	Yes
Village women for:			
Farm	0	26	Yes
Village	58	60	No
City	2	5	No
No information.....	40	9	Yes

* Using t test for significance of differences between proportions for uncorrelated data.

better indicator of their unconscious—as well as conscious—feelings toward their residence. Again, in their choice of residence for their children, both the farm and the village women are more favorably inclined toward the farm at the later date than in 1940. Probably more significant is the fact that far fewer of the farm women choose the farm for their children than give it as their own preference. It may be that some of them did not wish to admit to themselves that, if they had it to do over again, they would like to choose differently. More of the village women chose the farm as the most desirable residence for their children than chose it for themselves. In 1950, one in four of the village women chose it for her children, only one in twenty for herself.

The city seems to hold few attractions for either group, for children or for selves. The largest proportion to list the city was the 13 per cent of the farm women who gave it as their preference for their children.

SUMMARY

The contrast between the more favorable financial position of the American farm family during the forties and that of the meager thirties is well known. During the forties, the farmer's purchasing power was raised to a par with that of his village and city cousins. Whereas his thoughts had formerly often been preoccupied with ways and means of meeting the next payment on the farm mortgage, during the forties he and the farm homemaker turned more and more attention to the

procurement of farm and household conveniences. Accelerated farm mechanization and electrification tended to make for shorter planting and harvesting seasons, to lighten the work of farm men and women, to shorten the working day, and to reduce the chores of school-age farm youngsters. Improved roads and the farmer's ability to pay for better cars, for clothes, and for increased amounts of gasoline, oil, and tires made it easier for farm youths and their parents to participate in social activities of the larger community. The exact extent to which these economic factors can be credited with the women's increased satisfaction concerning their life situation is not known, but their importance undoubtedly is considerable.

Of particular importance to the testing of the original hypothesis—that living satisfaction is related to social and economic well-being and that, therefore, an improvement in these environmental factors will be followed by a parallel improvement in living-satis-

faction attitudes—are the facts that: (a) both the farm and village group showed appreciable gains in environmental measures along with gains in living satisfaction scores; (b) the farm group, which was the one to report the greater environmental gains, also reflected the greater living satisfaction gains. On the other hand, the fact that the farm women in 1950 reported poorer environmental conditions but greater satisfaction than the village women had in 1940 tends to deny the direct one-to-one relationship postulated as existing between the indices of environment and living satisfaction.

The data thus tend to substantiate the assumption of a direct relationship between environment and satisfaction, but not the invariability of this relation. Furthermore, it should be recognized that factors other than those included in this study (concern over the status of international tensions, for example) might have affected the respondents' living satisfaction attitudes.

CONCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF FUNCTIONS OF MEDICAL AND HEALTH CARE AGENCIES BY PRESENT AND FUTURE HOMEMAKERS, IN CORTLAND COUNTY, NEW YORK, 1950*

by George J. Brower†

ABSTRACT

An analysis was made of the role expectations of health agencies to determine the function they were expected to perform. Role expectations and actual roles being performed by these agencies are not always similar, and differences may indicate problem areas. The role analysis was limited to twenty-two selected health functions.

The analysis of health finance is extremely specific, in that each individual interviewed was asked to list a method of finance for an agency for performing a given function. Functions rated unnecessary were not included. Analyzing health finance in terms of agency, function, and method of finance seems to be particularly effective in arriving at the consensus of the people regarding health finance.

In the fall of 1949, information on use of medical and health services, use of sources of health information, and attitudes regarding the availability of health services was gathered from 250 rural households in Cortland County, New York.¹ In a complementary study conducted by the writer during 1950 and 1951; information on people's role expectations of medical and health care agencies, and opinions on the importance of health functions were gathered from 57 Home Bureau² members representing two Home Bureau units in the Homer community of Cortland County and three Home Bureau units in the Marathon community. In addition, information was obtained from 117 junior and senior high school students of the central schools in Homer and Marathon.

This study proceeded from the general assumption that health behavior

and health attitudes vary by households, and that health behavior and health attitudes are based on the situation as it is perceived by the people. The data on role expectations and health functions were gathered by use of a pretested fixed-question schedule administered in group interviews arranged by high school principals and home demonstration agents. The questionnaires were filled out by the respondents.

In this research, a framework for study had to be established, in that there was no study to serve as a precedent. Thus, testing the framework received a major part of the emphasis and sampling was given little emphasis.

The study of role expectations and importance of health functions proceeds from the general assumption that people perceive ways of meeting their health needs, and that this perception is the basis for a large part of health behavior. It follows, then, that with an adequate knowledge of perception, health behavior could be predicted.

The first step in studying perception in health was to decide what it was that was being perceived. It was decided that health functions or needs

*Adapted from the writer's Ph.D. thesis, "A Sociological Study of Health Behavior and Perception in Cortland County, New York." Cornell University, 1951.

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¹ See Olaf F. Larson and Donald G. Hay, "Hypotheses for Sociological Research in the Field of Rural Health," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Sept., 1951), pp. 225-237.

² In New York State, the Home Bureau is the equivalent of the home demonstration clubs in other states.

were the logical starting points. Thus, the respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of a series of twenty-two selected health functions according to the following four-point scale:

1. Services are absolutely essential and we cannot get along without them.
2. Services we can make good use of but could possibly get along without.
3. Services that have not been properly evaluated. We don't know if we need them.
4. Entirely unnecessary services.

Through use of these ratings of importance it became possible to determine the mean rating of each function and to place it in a rank order. Also, each individual rating took on meaning. If the ratings were about equally distributed in each of the four categories, it might be suggested that there was relatively little crystallization of opinion. A large number of responses in category 3 might suggest a need for more health education. A large number of responses in category 4 might suggest seriously considering no longer performing the function as a service to the people.

The rating scale can be used repeatedly because each of the categories is defined; that is, it provides some information in addition to a relative position on a scale.

After the respondent had rated the function in importance, the second step was to obtain information on who should perform the function. A respondent was not asked to name an agency to perform a function which she considered "entirely unnecessary." For all functions rated as of some importance (i.e., in categories 1, 2, or 3) the respondent was asked to list the agencies—in order of importance—that should, in her opinion, perform the function. Then, for each function for which an agency was selected, the respondent was asked to select one of the following methods of finance:

1. Donations or gifts given to local agencies (Red Cross, Infantile Paralysis Foundation, etc.).
2. Taxes.
3. Group insurance.
4. Directly by person receiving function.
5. No reimbursement necessary.

The respondent was not asked to select a method of finance for those functions which she considered entirely unnecessary; she was asked to select a method of finance for an agency to perform a specific health function.

IMPORTANCE OF HEALTH FUNCTIONS

Judgments regarding the importance of health functions varied considerably by functions and between present and future homemakers. Differences in the mean ratings of importance of the twenty-two selected health functions were greater when all future homemakers were compared with all present homemakers than they were when future homemakers were compared with present homemakers in each of the two communities. Differences between future homemakers in Homer and future homemakers in Marathon were relatively slight. Differences between future homemakers and present homemakers in Homer were greater than differences between future and present homemakers in Marathon.

Present homemakers generally gave functions higher average ratings than did future homemakers.

The arithmetic means of the ratings of importance for the twenty-two functions, in order of importance, are as follows:

	Mean Rating
1. Diagnose and provide treatment for illness.....	1.25
2. Immunize individuals against communicable disease.....	1.26
3. Set up necessary health regulations to promote good health for the people of the community	1.32

	Mean Rating
4. Have a general knowledge of what causes disease and the means for treating it.....	1.33
5. Do research to discover new treatments for, and causes of, disease	1.38
6. Provide health services for the permanently disabled, aged, and financially unable.....	1.45
7. Give advice in helping to control communicable disease....	1.45
8. Give assistance with acute mental health problems.....	1.61
9. Give periodic physicals to see that individuals remain in good health	1.62
10. Assist youth in learning good health habits and practices...	1.63
11. Inform people of new health treatments and newly discovered causes of disease.....	1.68
12. Have a complete knowledge of disease causation and treatment	1.68
13. Carry out a program of inspection to see that health regulations are obeyed.....	1.70
14. Assist mothers in learning to care for the physical and mental health of their children...	1.73
15. Collect gifts and donations for health research and health emergencies	1.87
16. See that the community has a complete health program.....	1.92
17. Assist homemakers in learning ways of food preservation and preparation	1.96
18. Guide individuals in their thinking and acting, so that they may live happily within their society	1.97
19. Provide training for those who would teach children good health habits and practices...	2.01
20. Assist families in arranging a financial plan for health emergencies	2.09
21. Keep a complete medical record of each individual.....	2.12
22. Supervise the doctor to see that he does his work well....	2.53
Average for all functions.....	1.70

"Giving periodic physicals" was rated higher by future homemakers than

by present homemakers. "Seeing that the community has a complete health program" was rated higher by present than by future homemakers. These differences constituted the greatest differences between future and present homemakers on ratings of importance given health functions.

PERCEPTION OF MEANS OF FULFILLMENT OF NEED

The index for measuring perception of means of fulfillment of need was the percentage of respondents naming one or more agencies to perform a given function. Of all respondents not rating the function entirely unnecessary, 92.7 per cent selected an agency "for immunization" as compared with 41 per cent who selected an agency to "super-vise the doctor." The percentage of respondents selecting one or more agencies to perform a given function was as follows:

	Per Cent
1. Immunize individuals against communicable disease.....	92.7
2. Assist youth in learning good health habits and practices...	91.4
3. Give periodic physicals to see that individuals remain in good health	91.0
4. Assist mothers in learning to care for the physical and mental health of their children...	90.3
5. Set up necessary health regulations to promote good health for the people of the community	88.3
6. Assist homemakers in learning ways of food preservation and preparation.....	83.9
7. Diagnose and provide treatment for illness.....	82.3
8. Give advice in helping to control communicable disease....	79.9
9. Do research to discover new treatments for, and causes of, disease	76.5
10. Have a general knowledge of what causes disease and the means for treating it.....	75.4
11. Provide training for those who would teach children good health habits and practices...	75.2

	Per Cent
12. Keep a complete medical record of each individual.....	73.1
13. Provide health services for the permanently disabled, aged, and financially unable.....	72.1
14. Give assistance with acute mental problems	70.8
15. Carry out a program of inspection to see that health regulations are obeyed.....	68.9
16. See that the community has a complete health program.....	68.4
17. Have a complete knowledge of disease causation and treatment	66.6
18. Inform people of new health treatments and newly discovered causes of disease.....	65.9
19. Collect gifts and donations for health research and health emergencies	64.8
20. Guide individuals in their thinking and acting, so that they may live happily within their society	64.2
21. Assist families in arranging a financial plan for health emergencies	54.8
22. Supervise the doctor to see that he does his work well....	41.0

A higher percentage of the Homer present homemakers than of those in Marathon named one or more agencies to perform each of the twenty-two health functions. Future homemakers in the two communities varied only slightly.

Functions which the private doctor was most frequently expected to perform included:

1. Diagnose and provide treatment for illness.
2. Give assistance with acute mental problems.
3. Give periodic physicals to see that individuals remain in good health.
4. Immunize individuals against communicable disease.*
5. Inform people of new health treatments and newly discovered causes of disease.

*Private doctor and the county health department selected with equal frequency to provide immunization.

6. Have a general knowledge of disease causation and treatment.
7. Have a complete knowledge of disease causation and treatment.
8. Keep a complete medical record for each individual.

Functions which the county health department was most frequently expected to perform included:

1. Provide health services for the permanently disabled, aged, and financially unable.
2. Immunize individuals against communicable disease.
3. Give advice in helping to control communicable disease.
4. Assist mothers in learning to care for the physical and mental health of their children.
5. Set up necessary health regulations to promote good health for the people of the community.
6. Carry out a program of inspection to see that health regulations are obeyed.
7. Supervise the doctor to see that he does his work well.
8. See that the community has a complete health program.

Functions which the school was most frequently expected to perform included:

1. Provide training for those who would teach children good health habits and practices.
2. Assist youth in learning good health habits and practices.

Scientists were most frequently selected to do health research, Home Bureau to assist homemakers in learning ways of food preparation and preservation, the family to guide individuals in their thinking and acting, the Red Cross to collect gifts and donations, and insurance agencies to assist families in arranging a financial plan for health emergencies.

METHODS OF FINANCE

Direct reimbursement was the preferred method of finance for functions making up the role of the doctor, with the exception of "acquiring a general

knowledge of disease causation and treatment," for which respondents more frequently selected taxes as the means of reimbursing the private doctor.

Taxation was the preferred method of reimbursing the county health department and school for all functions making up their roles. It was also the preferred method of reimbursing the scientist for doing health research and the Home Bureau for assisting homemakers in learning ways of food preparation and preservation. The school was the agency most frequently expected to render its services without being reimbursed.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The stated purpose of the research was to arrive at a relatively complete conceptual framework for studying the sociological aspects of health. In addition to at least a partial fulfillment of this purpose, the study points to a relationship between the various parts of the framework, emphasizing the fact that these parts cannot be studied in isolation.

In the author's estimation, the most significant contribution of the study is the framework set up to study citizens' role expectations of health agencies. Further work on the framework is necessary at some points, but in general it

is complete enough to make possible a fairly good estimate of where people are in their thinking regarding the ways in which their health needs should be met. In essence, this is a study of the social organization for health as it exists in the minds of the people and can be compared to the actual organization of health resources.

ACTION AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

From the data on expectations with respect to functions and agencies, medical and health care agencies in Cortland County could gain some idea of what is expected of them by present and future homemakers. Health educators might use the results as a basis for training in health education.

In health organization neither the roles that exist objectively nor the roles that exist in the thinking of the people are necessarily the ones toward which to work. Rather, the process works two ways. There may have to be some adjustment of role on the part of agencies and there may have to be some adjustment of people's role expectations, through health education. In either instance, a knowledge of role expectation provides the starting point for a program of action, whether it be adjustment of role or changing of role expectations.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

POLICY ON RESEARCH NOTES

The changing of editors is an appropriate time to restate the policy of this section. The incoming Editor is proposing much the same policy and practices as followed heretofore, but solicits suggestions from readers and contributors concerning possible innovations.

The two words in the title of the section indicate its emphases, namely, research methods and brevity. Short reports on findings are appropriate if the data are related directly to the verification or the revision of an hypothesis.

Although the length of an item will vary with the nature of subject matter and the comprehensiveness of coverage, space limitations make necessary a relatively low optimum length. In light of the latter consideration, the most desirable length would generally be 1,000 to 1,200 words, or less. A "note" of 2,000 words would approximate the maximum length.

In line with the above criteria, the following types of statements would be appropriate for this section:

- (1) Statement of hypotheses, especially new ones, the refinement of concepts, and the delineation of research areas.
- (2) Developments in techniques for collecting and analyzing data.
- (3) Experiences in research organization and administration.
- (4) Brief statements emphasizing design and methodology on given research projects, current or planned.
- (5) Short reports of findings on specific projects if such a statement is unsuitable for an article. In reporting findings, it would appear desirable to dispense with a review of the literature and a summary, as is conventional in an article.

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES IN PERSONALITY OF COLLEGE STUDENTS AS MEASURED BY AN ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY

By R. Travis Osborne, James E. Greene, and Wilma B. Sanders†

Recent papers published by rural sociologists and psychologists on the subject of urban-rural differences in personality sug-

gest that much of the research in this area has been inconclusive, and in some cases the findings have been contradictory. In his recently published research, Nye found that "city families enjoy better parent-adolescent adjustment than farm families."¹ Sewell and Amend reported that the results of their study "definitely indicate there is little relation between rurality as measured by size of community and the attitudes and personality characteristics studied."² Stott says that "certain circumstances and conditions of rural living are definitely associated with the achievement of desirable personality adjustment by the child."³ Finally, Mangus concludes that, at the time of his study, the average level of personality adjustment was significantly higher among farm children than among children living in city homes.⁴

In the opinion of the present writers, these apparently contradictory findings are probably the result of the use of widely varying methods of defining and grouping the urban-rural population, rather than the result of procedural or statistical error. Most investigators, using only the United States Census figure of 2,500 to distinguish between rural and urban areas, classify the population in terms of residence at the time of their respective studies. However, by the use of this definition alone, obvious problems arise in assigning to proper groups the rural nonfarm, village, open-country nonfarm, and fringe populations. Also the inter-subgroup migrant is often misclassified. Some writers lump the various subgroups with either the rural-farm or the urban groups; others use only the smaller subgroups; while still others do not indicate clearly on what basis their population is divided.

In addition to being aware of the problems which arise from the use of different urban-rural groupings, the present writers

¹Ivan Nye, "Adolescent-Parent Adjustment—Rurality as a Variable," *Rural Sociology*, 15:334-339, December, 1950.

²W. H. Sewell and Eleanor E. Amend, "The Influence of Size of Home Community on Attitudes and Personality Traits," *American Sociological Review*, 8:180-184, 1943.

³Leland H. Stott, "Some Environmental Factors, in Relation to the Personality Adjustments of Rural Children," *Rural Sociology*, 10:394-403, December, 1945.

⁴A. R. Mangus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," *American Sociological Review*, 13:566-575, 1948.

† University of Georgia.

felt that migration and recency and duration of residence must be controlled in order to have what could be called "pure farm" and "pure urban" groups. That is, for example, a recent farm-to-city migrant should not be included with the rural group.

The 1950 freshman class of the University of Georgia, composed of 373 men and 210 women, was given a battery of standardized examinations, including the Bell Adjustment Inventory, Adult Form. Each student was also asked to fill out an information blank, part of which was designed to elicit information necessary for accurate urban-rural classification. Thus it was possible to assign all students to one of the following groups: (1) "pure urban," (2) "pure rural-farm," (3) "mixed." Those students classified as "pure urban" had lived all of their lives in the corporate limits of a city with a population of 2,500 or greater. Those classified as "rural-farm" indicated that they were presently living and had always lived on a farm, and that their families' principal income was farm-derived. The third or "mixed" group consisted of all students who could not be clas-

sified as "pure urban" or "pure rural-farm" according to the above criteria.

The findings reported here relate this residential classification to the Home, Health, Social, and Emotional scores of the Bell Adjustment Inventory. The extent and reliability of the intergroup differences in scores on the four Bell Scales are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

It is particularly noteworthy that only two of the twenty-four differences shown in Tables 1 and 2 have statistical reliability. The two significant findings are: (1) men students of mixed backgrounds are more submissive and retiring in social contacts than are men students with city backgrounds; (2) rural women students are better adjusted to their home surroundings than are women students with urban backgrounds. The remaining twenty-two comparisons are inconsistent in direction and magnitude.

In general, our findings do not consistently support the widely-held view that rural residence is markedly conducive to wholesome personality adjustment; but, rather, they support the view that "rurbanization" is tending to attenuate urban-rural personality differences.

TABLE 1. MEAN SCORES OF FOUR SCALES OF THE BELL ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY FOR COLLEGE MEN WITH URBAN, RURAL, AND MIXED BACKGROUNDS

Scale	Rural (N=47)		Urban (N=135)		Mixed (N=205)		Critical Ratios		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	R-U	U-M	U-M
Home	3.53	3.05	3.70	3.89	3.43	3.43	-.27	.18	.61
Health	4.71	3.24	4.65	3.50	4.63	3.52	.10	.14	.05
Social	11.26	6.31	9.27	3.90	10.45	6.25	1.83	.72	*-2.36
Emotional .	6.74	4.39	6.58	5.22	6.25	7.69	.18	.53	.43

*Difference significant at the .05 Level of Confidence.

TABLE 2. MEAN SCORES OF FOUR SCALES OF THE BELL ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY FOR COLLEGE WOMEN WITH URBAN, RURAL, AND MIXED BACKGROUNDS

Scale	Rural (N=10)		Urban (N=111)		Mixed (N=96)		Critical Ratios		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	R-U	U-M	U-M
Home	2.90	3.45	5.67	4.50	5.16	4.97	*-2.25	-1.78	.74
Health	6.30	4.82	6.07	3.50	5.88	4.07	.14	.25	.11
Social	12.00	6.69	10.40	6.19	9.63	5.42	.69	1.03	.93
Emotional .	11.30	7.48	12.26	6.29	11.60	6.49	.40	-.39	.71

*Difference significant at the .05 Level of Confidence.

SELECTION OF A SAMPLE OF RURAL PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

By Ruth Hoeflin†

How to locate a representative sample of rural preschool children in regard to sex, age, and geographic location was recently the immediate problem that had to be considered before an actual rural research project could be undertaken. The selection of preschool children presents problems different from those involved with the school-age child. In the first place, in a rural area it is almost impossible to find children under five or six years of age in a group of any size. In the urban areas, preschool children in nursery schools are often used as subjects in scientific research. Neighborhood groups and gangs have been studied in the city. The rural school-age child has been studied in the school situation by means of subjective questionnaires, rating scales, or schedules.

After a survey of literature and a study of the county in which the project was to be conducted, the following procedure was used: Interviews were held with key individuals in the selected county to determine the best ways to select a representative sample of rural families having preschool children. Those individuals consulted were the president and executive secretary of the county mental hygiene association, the home demonstration agent and county agent, the county superintendent of schools, the commissioner of public health, and a Farm Bureau representative. Each person would contribute his own ideas and then make suggestions as to other individuals who might be more helpful.

Since the children to be studied were not yet of school age, obtaining a list of all the babies born to farm families between May, 1945 and May, 1948 was found to be the most accurate method. This original list was obtained from the county department

of health and included 663 children aged two, three, and four years (345 boys, 318 girls), representing 641 rural families.

In order to check on the present residence of the families, either a personal visit was made to the post office, where a conference was held with the postmaster or the rural mail carrier, or a letter was sent to the postmaster in that area. A one-hundred per cent return was obtained; this included visits to eight post offices and letters from the remaining six stations. This procedure eliminated those families that had moved out of the county or to an unknown location. Four hundred and one families remained, with 221 boys and 179 girls of preschool age.

A county map was prepared which located the postal divisions and the distribution of cases according to sex and age. The agricultural district supervisor of the Agricultural Extension Department helped divide the county geographically. By considering the age, sex, and geographical location of the cases, the Ohio State University Statistical Laboratory then helped select a representative sample in as nearly the same proportion to the original list as possible. This sample was composed of 120 children (66 boys, 54 girls). Since at least 100 families were needed for the experiment, 120 were selected to allow for any drop-outs or refusals that might occur.

A final consideration was that the family must receive at least 50 per cent of its income from the farm in order to be considered a "true farm family." This decision eliminated several families. In those families having two preschool children, the data on just one child of the age and sex needed for that area were used, since one objective was to reach as many different families as possible. The sample finally selected comprised 100 children who came from all sections of the county; their age range was from two through five years; 57 were boys and 43 were girls.

†Ohio State University.

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Paul A. Miller

SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING EXTENSION WORK IN SELECTED LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

by Hsin-Pao Yang†

In February, 1951, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations collaborated with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in organizing an Extension Training Center in Turrialba, Costa Rica. Courses were given on extension methods and on evaluation, and a third course dealt with social factors influencing extension work. This latter course was the joint responsibility of three persons¹ and was organized on the basis of twelve topics, which will serve as the topical headings for this report.

The participants in this course were asked to submit a daily summary of discussion notes. Four points were to be emphasized in these summaries: (1) social factors discussed in the particular session; (2) their effect on extension work; (3) situation in the country of the participant in relation to the social factors discussed; and (4) the participant's opinion of the manner in which these factors affect extension work in that country.

Present limitations do not allow a full account of the course. This report represents a digest and analysis of the daily discussion summaries prepared by participants. Hence, this is an account of the evaluations made by the participants in the course and does not necessarily agree with observations made by the persons responsible for the course.

INFORMAL GROUPS

Active cliques or friendship groups were reported in Costa Rica, Haiti, Uruguay, Peru, and Puerto Rico. In Haiti, informal groups develop around the distinctions between religion, political creeds and beliefs, and differing standards of living. In Venezuela, the development of smaller informal groups is a common social phenomenon. Such groups have different social, re-

ligious, and political functions in their communities. The formation of friendship groups in Uruguay and Peru is related to features such as geography and soil conditions. In some regions of Uruguay, individualism is reported to be more pronounced, with a reduced formation of cliques, because of geographical location. Also reported is a lack of clique development in the isolated mountain areas of Peru, where families have little contact.

The participants in the course reported that extension workers found it advantageous to work with informal groups. For instance, activities in Puerto Rico have been conducted through informal groups, and their leaders have been used in reaching groups of families. In Costa Rica, informal friendship groups have been used as centers for exchanging ideas and demonstrating the aims of extension work. Demonstrations, talks, and conferences frequently have been arranged for such groups. In Peru, extension workers were reported to have had more success from utilizing informal groups on the Coast than in the mountain areas, where no informal groups were found among isolated families. The Ministry of Agriculture and Breeding of Venezuela recently organized agricultural groups on a cooperative basis to promote and strengthen agricultural programs in that country.

While informal groups have been helpful to extension workers in many parts of Latin America, it was reported that cliques and friendship groups usually are antagonistic, distrustful, and disinclined to cooperate with each other. Quite often cliques are formed by certain influential people to foster and protect individual interests. The attitude of these people toward the government is one of suspicion and hostility, largely because of their fears of governmental interference in personal designs.

The participants emphasized the neutrality of extension workers as they are concerned with informal groups. In one country mentioned by a participant, it is possible to have some rich men come out in opposition to extension work, simply because of failure to recognize their leadership roles in local affairs. However, one participant observed that it is not impossible to develop a mutuality of interest on the part of informal groups and to have

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¹ Dr. Julio O. Morales, Head, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Life, Inter-American Institute; Dr. Charles P. Loomis, visiting American sociologist and anthropologist; and the writer, representing FAO. The writer is indebted to Dr. Morales for reading this paper.

them gradually direct diverse interests toward common goals.

LOCALITY GROUPS

Locality groups such as neighborhoods, communities, villages, and trade centers perform different functions in the daily lives of most rural people. In Haiti, for instance, farmers were reported either as dwelling in villages and hamlets or living on farms where clusters of families develop to insure common protection and to share community life. The Haitians usually identify themselves with the places where they live and work, and they feel responsible to these localities. In Nicaragua, most of the large farm owners live in the principal cities; but a large proportion of the small farmers remain in the towns or villages, where they maintain business contacts and meet social, health, and recreational needs. Like the Haitians, the Nicaraguans identify themselves with the villages where they live and to which they attach their primary interests.

Extension workers consider locality groups as vitally important elements in their work. In Puerto Rico, for instance, in recognizing locality groups, they consider the meeting habits of the people, past records of attendance, and suitability of location for office facilities. Participants stressed, in planning meetings, consideration of the place where the best attendance can be assured and the placing of posters and announcements in locations where most people are likely to observe them. Extension workers in Puerto Rico also study the distance between different locality groups, as well as means for transportation and communication. In El Salvador, emphasis was reported given to the complex relationships between man and his environment, such as the distance between production and trade centers, the mobility habits of rural people, and their limited contacts with the outside world.

THE FAMILY

The family is regarded in Honduras as "the first society" and in El Salvador as "the cornerstone of society." The Haitians consider their families as the nuclei in which the needs of food, clothing, housing, education, savings, health, and recreation are to be satisfied. It was reported that extension workers in Haiti have as their first focus of attention the meeting of these needs.

For the extension workers of Panama, the family is reported to be the starting and the closing point of their work, in that

they take as their major responsibility raising family levels of living and recognizing the aspirations of individual members of the family. The farms and the homes in Puerto Rico are treated as principal working units of extension, in an attempt to raise family levels of living.

Extension workers in El Salvador regard the family as a fertile field in which the seeds of extension, once sown, can yield profitable returns. Since the level of living of their rural population is low, they propose to work with the family in exploring different possibilities of improving living conditions.

While the family may be helpful to extension workers, it has, however, limitations which must not be overlooked. Family ties in some parts of Latin America are loose, with legal marriages representing a small percentage of the population. Loose family relationships create many problems, such as a high degree of mobility of the male population, disputes of inheritance, and neglect of the education of the children. Disorganized families are not generally responsive to suggestions for improvements. Ignorance and superstition in many backward areas tend to keep the rural people in mental and spiritual isolation, and make their traditional observances of rituals and ceremonies a waste of time, labor, and money. To approach these rural families and induce them to participate in extension activities will not be easy. Poor education of the parents, for instance, can affect the minds of the younger generation and influence their attitudes toward extension work.

STRATIFICATION

The origins or bases of the status systems vary from country to country, according to the reports of the participants. In Haiti, stratification is reported to be based on color, position, politics, education, place of birth, family, and religion. Social class distinctions in El Salvador are derived from economic, political, and cultural or professional positions. Land ownership is another criterion of class distinction. In El Salvador, for instance, approximately 90 per cent of the land is held by 10 per cent of the population. The resulting wealthy class of landowners is a definite prestige group in that country. Likewise, the upper class of Haitians own the best and a greater part of the agricultural land, and maintain a sphere of influence in politics, commerce, banking, and credit.

Extension workers must decide whether to assist the privileged groups and use their

influence to gain community support, or to work with the needy lower levels that constitute the largest proportion of the population. In one country represented, it is felt that extension work can succeed better with the owner-operators, the small farmers, and the renters or sharecroppers than with the rich and large-scale operators. This is based on the belief that if the increase of prosperity continues to enrich the upper classes, extension work will fail in its mission or achieve only limited objectives.

STANDARDS AND LEVELS OF LIVING

A main objective of extension work is to raise the standards and level of living of rural people. In Peru, great differences were reported in the standards and levels of living of the different social classes. Both Panama and El Salvador also report having a marked economic disparity between their rural and urban areas. Eighty per cent of the people of Honduras engage in agriculture, and they generally have a low level of living. A great number of the peasants in Haiti receive little or no education. Farm produce in Haiti, such as milk and eggs, is usually sold for cash with which to buy rice and bananas, the staples. Meat is rarely included in the Haitian meal. The unbalanced diet is probably partly responsible for the poor health conditions and the high death rate still prevailing in many rural sections of that country.

The participants generally agreed that these differences in the level of living are not only the results of technological deficiencies, but that social factors contribute to them also. In Honduras, for instance, most rural people still follow the old customs; they believe they can do no more and no better than their ancestors, and are content with their present lot. Extension workers may try to persuade rural people to change their living habits, but changes usually take place slowly. It is the responsibility of the extension agents to adjust their programs to the needs and desires of the people, and to make sure that the recommended changes fall within the possibilities of the people concerned. One participant suggested that extension workers should not impose arbitrary or foreign standards of living on the rural people, but rather attempt to improve living conditions with local resources and at a pace which the local people can maintain.

SYSTEMS AND CONDITIONS OF HEALTH AND SANITATION

The participants reported that poor health and unsatisfactory sanitary condi-

tions in most rural areas of Latin America are urgent problems to extension workers. Malaria is a common disease in El Salvador, and many children in rural areas suffer from rickets. Farmers in Panama have difficulty with malaria, tuberculosis, and intestinal disorders. Undernourishment is prevalent in many rural sections of Haiti, and the people are physically weak and susceptible to sickness.

Good health is regarded by the participants as an important condition for the successful conduct of extension programs. In Venezuela, it has been proved that the solution of problems affecting extension work is facilitated if the health situation is properly understood. The extension workers in Puerto Rico keep themselves well-informed of the health conditions in the areas they serve, and previous training enables most of them to handle community-wide health problems. Cancer control in Puerto Rico is a distinct achievement of extension work.

In Latin America, as in many other parts of the world, organized public health services and facilities—both private and governmental—are largely confined to urban areas. Nicaragua, at present, does not have enough doctors to serve the small towns and villages and, in these small places, hospitals are almost nonexistent. Most rural areas in Haiti have no regular services of modern physicians. Some doctors may visit the villages infrequently, but quite often certain villagers may not see the doctors at all. A few dispensaries may be found in rural areas, but their services meet only a small fraction of the total need.

Extension workers in different countries use varying methods to deal with health and sanitation problems. In Peru, the importance of education on nutrition and diet, particularly the education of the working class, was emphasized by the participants. In El Salvador, nutrition and rural housing are stressed in extension programs. Family gardens have been encouraged in Uruguay with a view to increasing food production, particularly for the farm homes.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The participants believed that raising the general educational level of rural people is a prerequisite for the successful development of extension work. In El Salvador, it was reported, effective extension work depends to a great extent on the general educational achievements of the people. The higher the level of education, the

easier it becomes to change and improve the living conditions of the people.

Extension work can accomplish more if it utilizes and cooperates with other existing educational agencies. Both formal and informal educational institutions serving rural people may be partners and collaborators in extension programs. In one country, it was reported that, had the national public instruction authorities realized the need for coordinating their rural school programs with the extension service, the latter could have worked with many additional rural schools. Also reported was that the rural schools in Panama can well serve as a basis on which extension programs designed to raise the levels of living of rural people may be built.

It was generally agreed that the facilities of most rural schools in Latin America are inadequate to meet the needs of the people. The report for one country emphasized that rural teachers are women with little training for rural assignments, and their salaries are generally low; both of these factors lead to a lack of interest in teaching and in local community affairs. Furthermore, rural schools employ the same curricula and teaching methods as the city schools, without making any adjustments to local needs. Conscious of such inadequacies, a number of countries have recently begun to improve rural schools. In Honduras, for instance, the policy has been changed to employ teachers who have rural backgrounds. In El Salvador, a normal school has been recently established to train more teachers for the rural schools. It was reported that in Venezuela there have been lately established a number of rural centers for the teaching of reading and writing to the rural people.

Because of the deficiency of rural schools and the comparatively high rate of illiteracy in Latin America, the development of extension work in this region may require a different approach. In El Salvador, Venezuela, and Haiti, for instance, it is felt that extension work cannot be developed along the same lines and by the same methods as those followed in countries having higher educational levels. Furthermore, in the absence of roads and with the prevalence of superstition and racial prejudices, the way toward social and economic progress of the people will require a great deal of patience on the part of extension workers. It has been found in one country, for instance, that illiterate and misinformed farmers regarded extension agents as government officers, and expected them to

maintain their property and do the farm work for them.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Most governments in Latin America show an interest in assuming the major responsibility for promoting and maintaining extension work. The attitudes and policies of those directly responsible for such programs are of importance to extension workers. According to one participant, most traditional governments have a tendency to encourage bureaucracy and the control and regimentation which follow, and may be reticent to support extension work that encourages local initiative and responsibility. Given a staff of extension specialists, little can be accomplished, especially in the initial stages, without the understanding and appreciation of governmental authorities.

Not only the traditionalism of most governments, but also the customs of the people regarding government must be taken into account. The Meztizo population in Peru, for instance, cooperated with the government of that country and made progress in extension work. The indigenous group, on the other hand, refused to cooperate. The reason given is that the Meztizo group is comparatively rationalistic in its outlook, while the indigenous group refuses to change because of ancestral ways of doing things.

Costa Rica is one of those countries mentioned as having a rationalistic type of government, actively concerned with social progress. Extension workers, with the aid of the government, succeed in helping farmers to adopt new practices—not by enforcement and regulation, but by the example and demonstration of a few progressive farmers who have learned and followed the new practices and are ready to show their results.

RECREATION

The majority of the rural people in Honduras, as in many other countries, work hard and seldom have much recreation as such, although extension workers in that country are asked to plan some recreational events, such as sports and tours. In El Salvador, recreation opportunities are found in the cities, but there is a lack of such facilities and opportunities in rural areas. A similar situation exists in Haiti, where farmers and their families have little recreation other than local ritual performances, folk dancing, cock fighting, and occasional trips to the markets.

The inclusion of a recreation emphasis in extension programs can help to correct the deficiency of recreation, although developing recreational programs requires a great deal of thought and careful planning. It was found in one country, for instance, that some forms of recreation involved an overindulgence in alcohol and actually produced adverse effects. Healthful recreational activities organized with and for rural young people, however, can be helpful in strengthening extension work.

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

The Roman Catholic Church occupies a prominent position in the religious systems of Latin America. In Puerto Rico and Nicaragua, for instance, 90 per cent of the population is reported as Catholic, and priests play important roles in organizing and directing local activities. Farmers in El Salvador, Honduras, and Peru respect and follow the advice of their priests. In some remote areas of Peru, only with the encouragement and help of the priests can extension workers reach secluded points to offer their services.

The power and influence of the Roman Catholic Church is being recognized by the extension workers in Latin America, according to a number of the participants. One participant in the course observed that, if extension programs of his country are organized so as to cooperate fully with the Catholic Church, more promising results will follow. In another country, the priests are said to be the true leaders in both city and rural areas, making their cooperation a necessity. The extension workers of Puerto Rico have cooperated with several religious organizations in developing youth activities and other community programs. Intensified collaboration of this kind is believed necessary in bringing more rural families into contact with extension programs.

At present, the full collaboration of the churches with extension has not been attained; much remains to be done toward this end. Extension work in this region is in the initial stage, with an indefinite set of ideas and plans for enlisting the assistance of the churches. Furthermore, as reported, the majority of Catholic priests tend to be concerned with cities and towns, and their knowledge of rural life is often limited. As indicated by the participants, the slow response of the Catholic hierarchy is perhaps a matter of caution rather than an indication of indifference.

The successful collaboration of extension workers and religious leaders depends to a

great extent on the respect and trust achieved through the process of negotiation and consultation. One further suggestion was that, when attempts are made to approach the different religious leaders, favoritism should not be shown to any one of them.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Two types of population patterns were mentioned by the participants. Haiti, for example, has a population density of 127.9 per square kilometer, with a rapidly rising rate of natural increase. In that country, the relation of population to arable land and other natural resources was reported as so strained that resulting poverty discourages some people to the point that they depart. For those remaining, the land has been divided and the size of farm units reduced, with subsequent economic difficulty in long-term farm management. A similar situation is reported in El Salvador and Puerto Rico, with population increasing in the former at the rate of 100,000 per year, and the latter having a density of population which has already reached 241.6 per square kilometer.

The countries having high population pressure are facing many complex problems in obtaining a larger and better food supply, implementing economic planning with reference to agricultural developments, and obtaining a more desirable distribution of economic power within the countries.

Honduras represents a different situation and problem. In that country, most agricultural areas are facing a shortage of farm workers. Extension leaders have not only the problem of manpower shortage but also the difficulty of reaching and working with widely scattered farm families.

RELATION OF ECONOMICS AND GEOGRAPHY TO SOCIAL FACTORS

Recently the extension workers in Puerto Rico have begun to appreciate the importance of land-use measures and to call on the Soil Conservation Service to assist with the planning of extension programs. Also reported was a plan for using 20 per cent of the idle land in Nicaragua for food production; but here extension workers have the immediate problems of land classification and soil surveying in determining the categories of land suitable for different types of cultivation. It is desired that agricultural production be increased in El Salvador, but extension workers in that country need to know the economic and geographic conditions of the different areas before determining their suitability for various crops.

Area economic and soil surveys are generally costly, requiring both time and qualified personnel. Most of the governments, as reported by the participants, are presently not quite ready to appreciate the value of such studies and surveys. The education of the respective government

officials appears, therefore, to be as necessary as the education of the farmers. Both processes are slow and are influenced by a variety of social factors. The extent to which these social factors are understood will determine the success of extension programs.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Charles E. Lively

American Society. By Robin M. Williams, Jr. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xiii + 545. \$4.50.

American Society represents a novel and a scholarly addition to the sociological textbook shelf. Essaying an "applied sociology," the author sets himself the dual task of (1) developing a specifically sociological frame of reference and (2) employing it to analyze the structure of American society on the national level. The novelty of the volume stems from the explicit concern to construct and employ a consistent conceptual apparatus. In addition, Mr. Williams has marshalled a vast array of relevant published data in the service of his second aim.

The author begins with a very brief survey of the geographic, demographic, and technological bases of American society. This is followed by a chapter devoted to the definition of a minimum set of analytic concepts. There follows a detailed consideration of the major patterns of social structure in this country (including an excellent survey of stratification materials), their functional interrelationships, and finally, the problem of institutional permanence and change.

The defects of the work arise mainly from its qualities. The achievement of clarity and precision in the realm of conceptual distinctions, as well as consistency in application, is an objective not easily attained. And it would be only natural at this stage in the development of our discipline if such an attempt left considerable to be desired. Nevertheless, the student is more likely to emerge from a reading of *American Society* with a clearer picture of what constitutes a "sociological" approach than he would obtain from the majority of our texts.

The author is explicit about his structural bias, which is admittedly a concession to the limitations of space. As to the place of the volume in the textbook literature, this reviewer doubts that it can be satisfactorily considered as an introductory text. However, he is equally certain that the results would be more than ordinarily encouraging if it were employed as the basis for a "second" course in sociology.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ.

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American Sociology: The Story of Sociology in the United States Through 1950. By Howard W. Odum. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1951. Pp. vi + 501. \$5.00.

This book, presumably intended to be used as a text, should be useful to all who are interested in the backgrounds of American social sciences, and particularly to sociology majors who are mature enough to be interested in the history of the subject. The first 75 pages are devoted to backgrounds; the next 175 pages to the presidents of the American Sociological Society; and the next 175 pages to textbooks, journals, and the special fields of sociology. The final section is devoted to criticisms and evaluation.

The author offers no definition of sociology, but limits his treatment to the writings of professional sociologists (chiefly those located in the Arts division of colleges and universities) as these writings occur in books and journals. This gives the book a strong theoretical orientation. The applications of sociology are not stressed, although the social work area is recognized. At times the author reveals considerable enthusiasm for the practical utility of sociology, without showing it in action.

Rural sociologists will be disappointed to find that only superficial treatment is accorded their division of the subject. The author does mention the "impressive catalog" of rural sociological literature and links it with the rise of community studies. But one may read the volume without gaining any clear notion of the impressive role now being played by the Agricultural Experiment Stations of the Land Grant Colleges of Agriculture and the Federal Government in promoting sociological research and in applying sociological knowledge to the techniques and methods of adult education. There are suggestions that the author may have no clear understanding of this system.

The last two chapters provide a provocative discussion of trends and outlook, though there may be considerable disagreement with certain of the views there expressed. Dr. Odum is critical of the present tendency toward bringing sociology, psychology, and anthropology closer together. He feels that any close relation-

ship might end in confusion and loss of identity for sociology. He believes that "the supreme task of sociology is to concentrate on its own development," even as physics and chemistry have done.

Like many of the earlier "fathers" of the subject, Dr. Odum fears that specialisms may drain the lifeblood from sociology, forgetting perhaps for the moment that such lifeblood flows both ways. He sees evidence of methodological fadism, and implies that much of it stems from lack of research funds and uniform, cooperative research methods. (In the matter of funds, he can't be thinking of rural sociologists, as they are fairly well supplied.) He apparently feels that the many discrete community studies now current are too much like Sir James Frazer's comparative studies of cultures. He believes that specialisms and semantics are weakening cohesion within the field, and he calls for systematization for the purpose of making the definition of sociology clearer, to the end that the group may be more definitely limited to professional sociologists. Finally, he warns that "sociology must deal specifically and exclusively with social systems."

The book contains a number of factual errors that should be corrected.

CHARLES E. LIVELY.

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Experiments in Social Process: A Symposium on Social Psychology. Edited by James Grier Miller. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950. Pp. viii + 205. \$3.00.

In November, 1947, a group of social psychologists from various parts of the country took part in a symposium at the University of Chicago, the results of which are published in the volume under review. The object of this symposium was to provide a representative sample of the most recent work in the field of social psychology, in order to form some idea of the present status of the field. Throughout the symposium there is a strong emphasis on methodology as well as a concern for the broad applicability of the studies made by psychologists and social psychologists. Group behavior and committee operation, the question of what makes effective leadership, and the influence upon social activity of an individual's religion or race are discussed. The use of projective material for understanding the attitudes and motivations of people is also considered.

The following topics were considered in the symposium by different psychologists and social psychologists: "Scientific Methodology in Human Relations," "The Strategy of Sociopsychological Research," "Laboratory Experiments: The Role of Group Belongingness," "Survey Research: Psychological Economics," "Survey Techniques in the Evaluation of Morale," "Field Experiments: Changing Group Productivity," "A Comparative Study of National Characteristics," and the "Implications of Learning Theory for Social Psychology." Finally, members of the symposium joined with the nuclear physicist, Leo Szilard, in a round-table discussion on "Social Psychology and the Atomic Bomb."

The value of this book lies in its bringing together a group of social scientists who compare and exchange ideas and techniques. Such an undertaking is especially important when we consider the fact that the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel listed, in 1945, some 28,000 social scientists and that, by a recent count, there are an enormous number of journals in the field. Because of this and the vast funds being made available by foundations and government for research, any effort to bring before the reader in a single volume the results of diverse researches, as does this symposium, is a good undertaking.

SAMUEL M. STRONG.

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Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict. By John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951. Pp. xvi + 496. \$3.90.

Social Pathology. By Edwin M. Lemert. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. Pp. viii + 459. \$4.50.

These two books are, in the order listed, excellent texts for courses at the introductory and secondary levels in the field of social problems or disorganization. The first book treats social problems at a conceptual level which will easily orient the beginning student to the "social tensions," or "value-in-conflict" approach, while the second presents a systematic theory of sociopathic behavior which will most readily suit those students who already have had some introduction to the subject. Both are written in the framework of the sociology of social problems, and the latter shows considerable influence of the psychology of George Herbert Mead.

The Cuber and Harper book is a revision of the same title, published in 1948. To the ten social problem areas originally treated, there are added chapters on the social problems rising out of population, adolescence, social-psychological deviants, rural life, the city, and religion. These are all treated in seventeen chapters under the general heading of Major Social Problems in America.

All these problem areas are quite adequately treated and exceptionally well illuminated by the use of much current data and by simple, though sharply clear, graphic and tabular presentation. Furthermore, that which is said about major social problems in Part II, fulfills the expectations aroused in Part I, where the conceptual framework for the study of such problems is presented.

Part III has to do with American Ideologies and Values, and is notable for its denouncement of the social disorganization concept. Throughout the work, the authors have used a style which is clear and engaging, and except for the fact that they fall victim to an occasional value judgment—particularly in the use of "loaded" words and phrases—the book is commendable over-all.

Though classified by the publishers as an introductory text, Lemert's book is not likely to be so easily digested by the uninitiated. Granting a thorough foundation in introductory sociology and a good sprinkling of psychology and statistics, it is reasonable to assume that it might be used as a first text in social problems, but it may not prove acceptable as an introductory text in the general field of social studies.

The chief purpose of the book is the presentation and elucidation of a systematic theory of sociopathic behavior. This the author does by outlining the theory in Part I, and by illustrating the application of this theory in a discussion of Deviation and Deviants. As areas of sociopathic behavior, he includes blindness and the blind, speech defects and the speech defective, radicalism and radicals, prostitution and the prostitute, crime and the criminal, drunkenness and the chronic alcoholic, and mental disorders. The work is completed by an appendix, with a suggested outline for studying and writing the life history of a deviant, and a glossary. The latter will be helpful, though hardly adequate for the introductory student in regard to the material covered. For instance, a term which is leaned on most heavily throughout the book, "sociopathic individuation," is omitted from this glossary.

Lemert sets up six criteria which he calls minimal to any adequate systematic theory of sociopathic behavior. Stripped of their vocabulary of the subject of immediate concern, they are the familiar ones of delimitation, internal and external consistency, validity, reliability, and comparability. The theory, as Lemert briefly states it, is one of social differentiation, deviation, and individuation. Central to the theory are seven postulates, all of which are strongly biased toward a statistical conceptualization of societies in general, and a Meadian interpretation of the role of the individual in any situational complex.

In short, the theory works thus: (a) Societies are differentiated; (b) in differentiation there is individual deviation; (c) in the schema of social values there is reaction toward the deviant; (d) the deviant perceives the reaction, conceives his own role in the situation, and individuates in behavior. In such a framework any deviation can be examined, as the author has shown in the variety of behavior which he treats. In fact, some readers may feel that he has gone too far with the application of the theory to the blind and speech defectives, since these groups are not ordinarily thought of as sociopathic. But certainly he has shown that deviation and individuation are present among these people.

The work contains 51 tables and a dozen or so graphic illustrations. As a whole, it is quite well done and is a creditable contribution to theory in the field. It should find wide use as a text in departments of sociology, and will be useful as well in social welfare courses.

F. E. RECTOR.

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Agricultural Discontent. By Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. Pp. 562. \$6.75.

This book is a contribution to American social science—to political science and sociology, and even economics, as well as to history. It is a true monograph in that it deals with a single theme—Agricultural Discontent—and limits its description and analysis, in space to the Middle West, and in time to the period 1900-1939. It is explained in the first chapter that "by 1900 American agriculture was 'coming of age'" and that the Middle West had become, as it has been ever since, the "heartland of the United States." Farmer discontent in this great agricultural region is, therefore, of major economic and social importance.

Three of the first four chapters are, so to speak, synopses of previous work by the senior author. The topics of a number of the other chapters have also been treated in various historical journals by the junior author. These facts, and the fact that the book is authored by two persons, do not destroy its integrity. Even though some of the materials were first presented by the authors in frames of reference different from that indicated by the title of this book, the thesis of the book is clear; unlike a great deal of historical literature, this book is written in terms of concepts. The reader will find the basic concepts and thesis stated clearly in the second chapter, entitled "From Populism to Insurgency." He will find these concepts again in chapter 19, "Epilogue." It is true that the thesis of discontent is seldom stated in the intervening chapters, but all the materials presented in these chapters implement this thesis, specifically and in detail.

The first chapter describes "The Region of Discontent," and the second chapter presents the political-economic upheavals of Populism and Insurgency. The senior author's contribution includes two other chapters, one on "The Impact of the War" and the other a very excellent chapter on "The Early Phases of the Cooperative Movement." They present the life contribution of a scholar who is best known in agricultural history because of his excellent monograph on the Populist Revolt. The remaining nine chapters are by a younger scholar who, in this reviewer's opinion, is making a greater contribution to this type of agricultural history than any other person in the country. Until the appearance of this document, objective research on the American Society of Equity, the Equity Cooperative Exchange, or the Farmers' Strike of the early 1930's had not been presented. No equally good research has been done on the Non-Partisan League, and no one else has analyzed the 1930-32 Cooperative Marketing Movement, the McNary-Haugen Movement, or the New Deal farm programs in so adequate an historical or economic frame of reference.

The reviewer's high praise of this work does not mean that from a sociologist's point of view it has no shortcomings. Most of the shortcomings seem to be due to the fact that it is authored by two persons, and that some of the materials were originally presented with frames of reference different from the title of the book. The materials presented in the two excellent chapters on the cooperative movement would be more cohesive if they were presented to-

gether. The thesis of agrarian discontent would undoubtedly be more clearly set forth if each chapter were less a specific treatment of a specific organization. There are places where considerable detail is presented which does not bear directly upon the thesis; and there are a few places where the concept of discontent, if thoroughly followed, would undoubtedly have led the authors to include some materials not presented. An illustration, in terms of concept, is chapter 4, "The Impact of the War," a subject which leads naturally into a consideration of McNary-Haugenism and the cooperative upheaval following the war. What happened in these two movements led rather naturally into the "Farm Holiday Uprising." Another illustration is that the chapter on the "Farm Strike" would probably have been more ample—that is, it would not have omitted some of the interpretive materials which it did, had it been written more completely in the frame of reference and historical sequence of discontent following the war and the early stages of the depression.

These comments, however, raise the question whether historians make a greater or lesser contribution by not being too closely tied by conceptual frames of reference. In studies of the Farmers' Movement, to which they have made major contributions, one of their greatest contributions is the meticulous detail with which they follow every bypath of the period about which they are writing. This is another way of saying that they are not unduly restricted by concepts, as may often be the case with other social scientists who may winnow a mass of detail so thoroughly that they fail to give consideration to some facts which are important to their analysis. This treatise, as was stated earlier, is not without concepts, and it includes a volume and diversity of detail which required some of the best research digging yet done in agricultural history.

C. C. TAYLOR.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Nature of Concepts, Their Inter-Relation and Role in Social Structure. (Proceedings Stillwater Conf., June 6-9, 1950.) By F. S. C. Northrop and Henry Margenau, Co-Chairmen. Stillwater, Okla., and New York: Oklahoma A. & M. College and the Foundation for Integrated Education, Inc. (Sales Distributors), 1950. Pp. 139. \$2.00 (paper).

The movement toward a more general and integrated education in American col-

leges is an educational commonplace today. A crucial problem in such an enterprise is the nature of the generality and the integration desired. One of the proposals insists that there must be an integration of knowledge before there can be unified education, and that a technique to provide this integration is to be found in a set of so-called basic concepts in terms of which the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the field of values can all be unified. Appeal is often made to an area of knowledge, like Newtonian physics, as an illustration of the techniques to be used and of the great power—both on theoretical and practical levels—of such integration, where a large number of specific propositions have been organized in terms of a relatively few concepts. Now such integration is obviously a very large order for the entire range of knowledge and values, but it is to this ambitious task that the Stillwater Conference addressed itself—as to over-all interest, at any rate.

A measure of generality, in personnel at least, was achieved in the selection of principal speakers, consisting of Professors Northrop (philosophy) and Margenau (physics) of Yale, Professors Mather (geology) and Kluckhohn (anthropology) of Harvard, Professor Sherif (social psychology) of the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. Hawley of the Office of Education, Washington, D. C. With respect to integration, the focus of attention was upon the following propositions: (1) Every culture has a set of basic concepts, however poorly or clearly articulated, which must be known if the culture is to be understood. These constitute its philosophy. (2) Conflicts of cultures are ultimately conflicts of their philosophies and cannot be resolved until these philosophies are "integrated." (3) The basic ethical concepts of any culture rest upon the theory of nature the culture has developed, that is to say, its "science"; thus ethics is derivative of a philosophy of nature. (4) The resolution of basic ethical conflicts is thus dependent upon the resolution of the conflicting theories of nature, and such conflicts can be resolved in terms of the best available knowledge of science, and as that knowledge is progressively integrated.

Now it is always a little unfair to summarize four days of papers and discussion in four propositions. Summaries tend to be pat. But, if this summary has that tendency, so do the papers. Certainly proposition (3) is challengeable, in spite of the fact that Northrop says the proposition has been "demonstrated." It would not, more-

over, be difficult to cite negative evidence for (2) and (4). No one could, of course, expect a four-day conference to integrate knowledge; but, with respect to the techniques proposed to achieve the integration, this reviewer—who was also a participant in the conference—came away both from the conference and from a re-reading of the papers feeling that the techniques of integration are basically as obscure after the Stillwater Conference as before.

HAROLD D. HANTZ.

University of Arkansas.

Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research. By Edmund H. Volkart, Editor. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951. Pp. ix + 338. \$3.00.

The usefulness of this compilation demonstrated itself the day it reached my desk. A graduate student preparing for his preliminaries picked it up and asked if he could borrow it. When he returned it—he did well on his examination!—he said he wished someone would perform the same service for other giants in the field. Students and professional sociologists alike are indeed indebted to Dorothy Thomas, to the Social Science Research Council, and especially to Edmund H. Volkart for making available in this succinct and systematic form the gist of Thomas's major contributions to theory and social research.

Following a thoughtful and stimulating introduction by Volkart, there are seventeen selections from Thomas's works, classified under four headings, namely: Social Science and Social Behavior, Social Behavior and Personal Dynamics, Social Behavior and Cultural Dynamics, and Personality and Culture. No one could, I believe, reasonably cavil at the selection of materials to be included. Here one finds the famous Methodological Note, the concept of the definition of the situation, the concept of the four wishes, the concepts of the Bohemian and the Philistine, the concept of disorganization. In addition to selections from inaccessible sources, there is one—"Personality and the Context of the Family"—from unpublished minutes of the Social Science Research Council, Hanover Conference of 1926. If one harbors any misgivings at the invasion of the "digest" culture pattern into the realm of science, these can be easily overcome by the realization that the accumulation of classics is becoming so great that, without some such

help as Volkart's, mastery of the sociological heritage becomes impossible. Let us have more of such "gists of sociologists."

JESSIE BERNARD.

The Pennsylvania State College.

Statistical Methodology Reviews, 1941-1950.

By Oscar Krisen Buros, Editor. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1951. Pp. x + 457. \$7.00.

Admirably organized and indexed, this comprehensive compilation lists 342 statistical methodology books published in English over the ten-year period. Except for the most recently published books and some highly specialized monographs, all the items are described and evaluated by extensive extracts from published reviews. Many of these reviews, as the editor claims, have considerable value in themselves, apart from their reference to particular books. No better device could have been used to achieve the objectives (among others) of making "students and teachers more keenly aware of the inadequacy of much of what is presented in textbooks and classes," of helping them "to select textbooks with greater discrimination," and of assisting "more advanced students in keeping abreast of modern developments in monograph and textbook writing and criticism." The bibliographic features of the book will make it a highly useful reference. In addition, a couple hours of browsing through it will provide some orientation to and appreciation of the rapid changes taking place in the science of statistical method.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN.

University of Chicago.

Field Theory in Social Science. By Kurt Lewin. (Edited by Dorwin Cartwright.) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. xx + 346. \$5.00.

This book contains ten of Kurt Lewin's most recent papers, published between 1939 and 1947 in periodicals seldom coming to the attention of most sociologists. It supplements a collection of Lewin's earlier papers published under the title *Resolving Social Conflicts*. These collections greatly facilitate the gaining of a systematic knowledge of his contributions to theory and methodology.

During the fifteen years he spent in this country, from 1932 until his death, Lewin wrote voluminously, to report extensions of his theory and findings of research designed

to test it. He did much to reduce opposition among psychologists to sociological points of view, by introducing these points of view in his writings as psychological theory. His theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of group behavior were made in the decades immediately following one in which much controversy occurred between sociologists and psychologists as to whether analysis of group behavior required concepts and methods different from those used in the study of individual behavior.

Perhaps this controversy had some bearing upon Lewin's penchant for coining new terms to apply to concepts that were not new in the literature of American sociology. The number of new terms he invented makes a glossary desirable when one is reading his writings. Cartwright has provided, in the foreword and appendix of the present volume, most of the definitions needed by the reader.

One of Lewin's most-used terms in this book is "life space," defined as consisting of "the person and his psychological environment as it exists for him." Clarity and parsimony can justify coining new terms. Perhaps these principles might have been served better by using such existing terms as "perceived environment" or "situational image." Were these principles served when Lewin spoke of a person's life space, after having defined "life space" as including the person?

Sociologists may be perplexed by the scarcity of references to their literature in this volume, as well as in Lewin's other writings. A discussion of the concept of the marginal man, for example, contains no reference to the sociological writings in which it was developed. The inference seems justified that he did not know the literature of sociology, although he must have gained indirectly some familiarity with many of its concepts.

The first three chapters of the book provide a description of the major theoretical system developed by Lewin and his associates. These are followed by a chapter applying the theory to an analysis of the learning process. Other chapters indicate its bearing upon research and experimentation in social psychology, upon the psychological concepts of regression and retrogression, and upon Gestalt theory. A chapter entitled "Psychological Ecology" reports some highly original and valuable research into changes in food habits. The concepts and methodology used in that research should have substantial transfer value for rural sociologists interested in re-

search into factors facilitating or retarding acceptance of new agricultural practices.

RAYMOND F. SLETTO.

Ohio State University.

Brazil—Portrait of Half a Continent. Edited by T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Pp. vii + 466. \$5.75.

This book is an outgrowth of a special summer session devoted to Brazilian studies and the Portuguese language which was held at Vanderbilt University in 1948. Chapters are contributed by 19 different authors, each supposedly a specialist in the field in which he writes. About half the authors are Brazilians, mostly from Brazil's two leading universities, the University of Brazil and the University of Sao Paulo. In compiling the work, the editors' pens were used sparingly and, except for minor changes and deletions made necessary through lack of space, the chapters were published just as submitted.

The book contains a wide range of subject matter. Chapter 1, by Alexander Marchant is called "The Unity of Brazilian History" and gets the work off to a good start by a broad comparison of Portuguese and Spanish Colonial American differences. Chapters then follow on "The Physical Basis of Brazilian Society" and "The Cultural Regions of Brazil." This latter chapter, by Preston James, is taken largely from his previous book on Latin America and his later one on Brazil. Chapter 4, by Wagley, deals with "The Indian Heritage of Brazil," and chapter 5, "The Negro in Brazil," is written by the late distinguished Brazilian sociologist, Arthur Ramos. T. Lynn Smith contributes an interesting chapter called "The People and Their Characteristics," based on his recent book and supplemented by data from the 1940 census. Chapters follow, in order, on "Rural Life in Brazil," "The Cities of Brazil," "Immigrants and Their Assimilation in Brazil," "The Bases of Brazil's Economy," "The Industrialization of Brazil," "Brazil's Role in International Trade," "The Brazilian Family," "The Evolution of Education in Brazil," "Religion and the Church in Brazil," "Politics, Government, and Law," "Social Legislation in Brazil," "Brazilian Literature," and "Brazilian Music and Art."

The book makes available, in English, authentic information on a wide variety of subjects regarding an important American country about which too little is known in

the United States. It will be useful for all students of Latin America.

The chief limitations of the work are: (1) The chapters differ greatly in quality and in method of treatment. Some are introductory in character, with emphasis largely on form; others offer sharp insights, and require a certain amount of familiarity with the topic and its broader implications. (2) Such a wide range of topics is included that in many instances only the "surface can be scratched" in a short work such as this. Despite these limitations, the work is an important contribution to the available literature on Brazil and deserves to be widely read.

N. L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Nature and Human Nature. By Lawrence K. Frank. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1951. Pp. x + 175. \$3.00.

This book is philosophical in nature and in the naturalistic and humanistic traditions. The author, however, is not a professional philosopher but a noted psychologist and a member of the Board of Leaders of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. His thesis is that we should "learn to see man in nature and nature in man." To renew our culture and reconstruct our social order within a world community, we need a new image of man—a new conception of human potentialities.

This somewhat optimistic point of view is presented in five major chapters, which are entitled "The Geographical Environment," "The Internal Environment," "The Cultural Environment," "The Social Environment of Group Living," and "Our Private Worlds." In these pages, findings are summarized from the physical and biological sciences and from anthropology, sociology, and psychology, on which, the author believes, a consistent and comprehensive view, or philosophy of life, may be based.

The universe is not to be regarded as being operated by some outside authority, but rather as self-governing and self-regulating. It is orderly as revealed by the findings of astronomy, but also plastic and flexible as shown in nuclear physics. The human organism likewise exhibits both "dynamic processes of orderly operation and self-regulation" and "divergent activities with variations and creative purposive activities," biological, psychological, and social. Culture and the social order have been produced neither by a supernatural

force nor by nature, but rather they are the creation of man. Cultures are selective, cultivating some human capacities and repressing others. We should look forward to the day, however, when a culture can be evolved that will accept and develop man in terms of his full potentialities.

These are not final judgments, but rather are a "more fruitful way of thinking about nature and man which provide more productive ways of ordering and interpreting experience, of formulating our relations as human beings to the universe." This orientation helps us to participate more fully in human life, the long-term adventure, and to formulate for it a long-term ethic.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

Mississippi State College.

Migratory Labor in American Agriculture.

Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951. Pp. xii + 188. \$.75.

This report is a fairly comprehensive and reasonably objective description of the social and economic problems of one million migratory farm workers. It is based upon facts and opinions collected at twelve public hearings in widely scattered cities; in conferences with selected government officials in the United States, Puerto Rico, and Mexico; and from other official sources. At least three rural sociologists—Louis Ducoff, W. H. Metzler, and Paul Taylor—are mentioned as participants in the investigation.

The report contains 12 chapters and an appendix. Chapter headings include, among others: "Why Do We Have Migratory Workers?"; "Alien Contract Labor"; "The Wetback Invasion"; "How Migratory Workers Find Employment"; "Management and Labor Relations"; "Employment, Wages, and Income"; "Housing, Health, Welfare, and Safety"; "Child Labor"; and "Education." The Commission made 56 specific recommendations, including the establishment of a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor.

Domestic persons account for one-half of the nation's one million migratory farm workers; 100,000 Mexicans are under legal contract, and another 400,000 of the same nationality are illegal immigrants. Approximately one-third of the farm migrants are women. The three main streams of migrants include those along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and a third which extends from Texas through Arkansas to the Great Lakes.

In 1949, the average migratory farm worker of the United States reported 70 days of farm work and 31 days of nonfarm work, with total earnings of \$514. The average hourly wage of all farm laborers was \$0.55, and of all factory workers \$1.45. It was found that the ratio of the farm wage to the factory wage had decreased each year since 1945.

Advances in farm technology decrease the over-all demand for labor and, at the same time, tend to increase the supply. Business fluctuations, drought, crop failure, and lack of education and vocational training are among the basic factors responsible for migrancy.

Domestic farm migrants lack the protection given the alien contract laborers in the form of guarantees of employment, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, medical care, housing, and sanitation. Most of them cannot meet residence requirements for voting or relief benefits.

The Commission expresses vigorous opposition to any increased use of alien contract laborers. First, reliance should be placed on using the domestic labor force more effectively; next, preference should be given to Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians. Other recommendations cover minimum wage legislation, social security, labor relations, child labor, housing, safety, health, and welfare.

The report fulfills a need for information on farm migrant workers since the Second World War. Whether the Commission's recommendations will lead to any worthwhile social action remains to be seen.

ROBERT T. McMILLAN.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge - Somerville Youth Study. By Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xxxiii + 635. \$6.00.

The action research reported in this volume was conceived and generously endowed by the late Dr. Richard Clarke Cabot in memory of his deceased wife, Ella Lyman Cabot. The original experimental plan included 325 youth in the Cambridge-Somerville area who were selected for the proposed "friendship treatment" over an intended 10-year period, and a carefully matched control group of equal number. The experiment was designed to test the hypothesis that impending delinquency can be prevented by building a sustained ego-

ideal for boys in trouble. A detailed description of procedure and a critical evaluation of results during the time the study was still in process are ably presented by Edwin Powers, field director of the program. A most valuable element of objectivity in the bold evaluation of experimental results was added by Helen Witmer, who carefully read, classified, and evaluated thousands of pages of case-record material from a detached vantage point.

Although the war situation made necessary many unfortunate changes in treatment, personnel, and procedure, the general hypothesis of the study was quite well tested. A wide variety of evaluative methods failed to yield anything to indicate a great degree of success for the treatment program. Perhaps more important for social workers is the careful definition and description of conditions and factors bearing on the origin and treatment of juvenile delinquent behavior.

To those interested in social research of this type, a host of research leads are either stated or intimated. Anyone considering the use of experimental design as a social research method would do well to examine the intricate system of treatment and synthesis of pertinent factors in control group selection used by the investigators.

In general, the study stands as a fitting monument to Dr. Cabot and those who so ably assisted him in his high purpose.

HERBERT F. LIONBERGER.

University of Missouri.

Our South: Its Resources and Their Use. By Everett F. Evans and Roy L. Donahue. Austin, Texas: The Steck Company, 1949. Pp. viii + 406. \$3.50 trade, \$2.80 text.

The style of the book is a very readable one. Both the high school student and the mature scholar will be able to follow the trend of thought and will get considerable information from the book. The authors have had varied experience in a number of the Southern States in the fields of forestry, soil conservation, water management, and wildlife conservation.

Social scientists will take issue with the authors because of the small amount of space allotted for the discussion of people and their institutions. The first chapter is used to describe the people of the South—their occupations, rate of increase, education, health, and industrialization. As an example of the brevity with which social problems are treated, only one page is de-

voted to the discussion of farm tenancy. The first chapter is used mainly as an introduction to the remainder of the book. The authors have separated people from "natural resources." The wants of the people are stated as the central factor which gives meaning to the natural resources of climate, water, forests, grass, minerals, and wildlife. The authors have done a good job of condensing the human resource information into 41 pages.

Other sections of interest to the sociologist are the portions concerned with ecology, balance of nature, and the description of a forest community. Many terms used by the sociologist, such as competition, co-operation, and invasion, are frequently used in the consideration of ecology of wildlife and forests.

The major theme of the book is conservation of the natural resources. Explanations of the technology of soils, climate, forests, grassland, and wildlife are clearly written for the layman. At least part of the readability is due to the scarcity of footnotes in the text. Tables, maps, charts, and photographs are well-documented, however. Each chapter begins with an excellent picture and a quotation from the Bible. The book is remarkably up-to-date. Wolf Creek Lake in Kentucky is mentioned, although the lake was actually impounded only in 1950.

RALPH J. RAMSEY.

University of Kentucky.

Water, Land, and People. By Bernard Frank and Anthony Netboy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. xviii + 331. \$4.00.

This is a readable book—a dramatic picture of our growing water famines and floods, and of the inadequacy of water and land conservation measures. It is also a timely review of the federal, state, and private programs designed to remedy some of these situations. Descriptive details of incidents and events give information for classroom use, adult discussion groups, and the lay reader.

But the book lacks deeper analysis and a basic frame of reference beyond the simple one of watershed management and conservation. Watershed management is thought of as including the practices that hold the soil on the farmsteads and adjacent to the highways, in the fields and on the mountainsides, along the coulees and the stream banks. Conservation legislation, education, agencies, practices, and policies

are the suggested solutions, including courses for urban schools and liberal arts colleges.

That the book lacks deeper analysis is illustrated by the following: "The Water Economics," chapter V, consists of but a simple dollar inventory of investment and cost of getting water to people. The concept of "social" cost as contrasted with public and private costs is implied, but not stated or outlined. Yet this distinction is basic and is the crux of much confused thinking and conflict as to national policy. Again, the title includes the word "people," but, like many, the authors leave the people in the title. The word is used frequently and there are numerous population statistics. However, there is no real and sharp analysis of the relation of people to water and land. For example, the authors describe the life and death of a Virginia town (pp. 161-62) and attribute its death to the destruction of land and water resources. This hardly follows, for the town is only thirty miles from Washington, D. C., and perhaps its growth arrest is due in large measure to the "shadow zone" influence typical of the growth of metropolitan centers.

The book lacks an analysis of the motivation that is necessary to get people, rural and urban, to carry out conservation measures long recommended and demonstrated. The authors speak of public apathy and even point to TVA's failure in the sphere of watershed management. But how can people be motivated to undertake the task of water conservation? That is the analysis which the authors have omitted. They state that "It is time to essay an appraisal of the TVA program coldly and objectively" (p. 226). Yet, they are weak in this, too.

One of the unrealistic phases of the book is the noncritical acceptance of the basin-wide approach (p. 41). Many basins include great extremes of conditions which require varied concepts of conservation effort. In the Missouri Basin, where at least three major types of conditions prevail—mountain degradation, plains upbuilding, and humid area leaching—the basin-wide approach is likely to make for inflexibility. And comprehension of the problem is likely to be limited by the biased experience of the public and the specialists. Perhaps the analogy of the three blind men and the elephant applies here—resulting in only partial understanding and partial action. And it is not necessarily true that the addition of the parts makes a "whole" program. Instead, there may need to be subtraction of some of the parts. The administrative and public relations technique may

need to be reoriented in the light of these conditions. On this phase the authors make no real contribution.

Considering the urgency of the water and land conservation problem and the relation of this to people, the authors have made a timely and readable contribution to the literature in this field. But their analysis is elementary and falls short of that contained in the three volumes prepared by the President's Water Resources Policy Commission.

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Montana State College.

Social Work and Social Living. By Bertha Capen Reynolds. New York: Citadel Press, 1951. Pp. xiii + 176. \$2.50.

This unusually readable little book should be highly welcomed by those who have been restive about some of the current practices and philosophies of social work, by those who feel that the client and ordinary living have sometimes been lost in the techniques of social work and the operation of social agencies.

Miss Reynolds, in her foreword, gives the theme of the book as follows: "Good professional social work is tested not by its differences but by its likenesses to living well, living as a social being, and gets its professional stamp from being practiced by people who make a special study and discipline of how to live." The book is an exposition of the various ramifications of this theme. She spares neither the profession of social work, social workers, the general public, nor established customs and modes of thinking from her careful scrutiny. She tests the philosophies and practices of each by the measure of social living, or ordinary living as she frequently calls it.

She asks many searching questions concerning certain practices of, or attitudes about, social work, then proceeds to explain why the particular practice or attitude grew up or was necessary in the past. She then shows the absurdity or injustice of the practice or attitude in modern life. Two questions, "Must it hurt to be helped?" and "Are clients people?" run throughout the book. She points out the attitude of many: that if it does not hurt to be helped by a social agency, it should hurt. She explains under what circumstances being helped hurts, and challenges the theory that it should necessarily be painful to take help from a social agency. "Help must be connected with increase, not diminution, of self-respect, and it must imply the possibility of a reciprocal relationship of sharing, within a group to which both giver and

recipient belong." She believes social work is capable of meeting these conditions.

"Don't you spoil people?" She discusses why social workers fear doing too much for their clients, and why labor unions and others fear social workers. No one in ordinary living thinks it hurts people to be helped. Does it hurt the banker to be driven to work in the morning by his chauffeur? Does it hurt the motorist to have his flat tire changed?

In her question, "Is diagnosis an imposition?" she delves into some of the current conflicts in social work philosophy. She says that diagnosis and a dynamic relationship in social work are not opposed but complementary. Each stresses something essential and each without the other can be carried to an absurdity. She gives the impression that she thinks a considerable part of what is at present termed intensive case work is fruitless or perhaps even harmful in the light of social living. A person may need to help himself, but he may need help before he can help himself. It is not the responsibility of the social worker alone, or the client alone, to initiate a service, but their joint responsibility depending on the capacities and the opportunities of each.

She explores some aspects of the practices of social work that give perennial concern to social workers. Among them are: Whom shall we help (if not everybody)? when and how much shall we give (whether of material benefits or services)? and how shall we find the real problem and help the person in trouble to do something about it?

A small group of social workers, of whom Miss Reynolds is one, representing the United Seamen's Service at the National Maritime Union Hall in New York, have been testing methods of making real in practice what they believe about people. In this book she asks, What do social workers believe? She points out certain inconsistencies in the practices of social workers who, in the past, have been content to give with one hand and withhold with the other, to build up and to tear down at the same time the strengths of a person's life.

She concludes her book by asking, "Shall social work become conscious of its own part in making a profession which will stand forthrightly for human well-being, including the right to be an active citizen?" If it does, it should remember that it has allies, since the great majority of the people of America want a good life for all people.

MATTIE CAL MAXTED.

University of Arkansas.

Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics: 1876-1925. By Albert D. Kirwan. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951. Pp. xi + 328. \$4.50.

The *Revolt of the Rednecks* is a well-balanced, objectively treated, amply documented, and scholarly written book about the bitter intra-Democratic-party politics in the Magnolia State from the end of Reconstruction to the close of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. This is Professor Kirwan's doctoral dissertation from Duke University—an above-the-average Ph.D. thesis.

If the central thread in Mississippi politics during this half-century was a "struggle between economic classes, interspersed with the personal struggles of ambitious men," the race issue, without doubt, was wrapped about the central thread. Practically all politicians, of whatever faction, throughout these five decades exploited the racial question, with differences in degree only. According to the author, regardless of what faction was in power or what person actually held the reins of control, the Negro "fared the same—no better, no worse." If the Magnolia State had a not-to-be-forgotten man from 1876 to 1925, certainly it was the Colored Man.

It would have been easy to laud one element of Mississippi politicians as Bourbons, or statesmen, and to condemn the other group as "Rednecks," or demagogues; but this has not been done. The author has tried to maintain an objective position. Men like Ethelbert Barksdall, Frank Burkitt, James K. Vardaman, and Theodore G. Bilbo, commonly denounced as appealers to "passion and prejudice" by the urban press and in such books as William A. Percy's *Lanterns on the Levee*, are portrayed with a more sympathetic pen in *Revolt of the Rednecks*—and well they might be if one is to produce an accurate picture. It was these men, especially Vardaman and Bilbo, who awakened a social consciousness among Mississippians and paved the way for the enactment of constructive social legislation. In comparison with some other states in other sections of the country, however, Mississippi continued to be near the end of the parade of reforms.

Some minor mistakes were noted in the book. For example, Hazlehurst is incorrectly spelled Hazelhurst on pages 153 and 154 and elsewhere; the Mississippi Industrial Training School is located at Columbia, not at Columbus, as stated (p. 270); Vardaman did not oppose the Food Conservation Administration during World War I

(p. 279), but only Section Three of the bill which created it. Once the law was enacted, he cooperated with the Administration and with Herbert Hoover. These are not all of the errors noted, but the misstatements were inconsequential and do not detract appreciably from a worthwhile treatise.

GEORGE C. OSBORN.

University of Florida.

Lost Lake: A Study of an Agricultural Community Established on Reclaimed Land. (Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers No. 3.) By Alan R. Beals and Thomas McCorkle. Berkeley: University of California, 1950. Pp. 91. \$1.50.

This report is the third of a series in the social sciences being published by the Kroeber Anthropological Society at the University of California. It is the product of field work done under terms of grants made available by the Bureau of Reclamation of the United States Department of the Interior and the University of California. It deals with many of the human complexities that develop when a government bureau attempts to build a community of people.

The reader is introduced to the community by way of a brief history of the area and a glance at how the people in the area earn their living. The emphasis of the study, however, is upon social structure and social adjustment. An excellent section is devoted to describing how the informal group (in this case, a loafing group at "Sam's Supermarket") functions as a channel of information for the "newcomer" who knows little or nothing about farming, and how the formal organization, largely clubs and societies, facilitates his introduction to the community.

One might point out certain frail spots in the report as, for example, where the authors find that "most of Lost Lake's farm owners are economically secure and husbands and wife (consequently) are not faced with many conflicting situations in their daily lives." For the same reason, "the child rarely sees his parents worry or quarrel . . ." One feels, too, that the authors have identified a little too much with the community when they conclude that, for some time to come, "Lost Lake will be compelled to rely upon a social and economic class system (stoop labor) which is in conflict with their own ideals . . ." If such conditions "conflict" drastically

with local ideals of owners who "have incomes over \$15,000 per year, drive expensive cars . . ." it seems reasonable to assume that such conditions might be alleviated through the provision of better housing and the payment of a more adequate wage.

By and large, however, the report is well done. For the administrator of a government bureau, it provides insight into the dynamics of a new community, and many pertinent suggestions for selecting desirable colonists and for aiding them once they arrive. For the professional sociologist or anthropologist, it provides an interesting organizational schema and theoretical frame of reference.

OLEN E. LEONARD.

Michigan State College.

Trends in Gerontology. By Nathan W. Shock. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951. Pp. ix + 153. \$2.50.

This book is devoted primarily to a discussion of the biological, physiological, psychological, social, and economic aspects of aging in late adult life. Its aim is to appraise the present situation, particularly with respect to research, and to formulate a tentative program to stimulate and direct research in gerontology.

In the first half of the book, the author briefly discusses various aspects of the position of elderly persons in the United States, covering the familiar demographic changes in age composition, the problem of employment discrimination (with some examples of efforts to overcome this discrimination), and the provision of economic security and income maintenance after retirement. The health problems of the aged are passed over rather superficially. Considerable attention is given to a description of various plans for providing special segregated housing units for older persons; however, as the author points out, there is no agreement that this is preferable to having older persons interspersed throughout the community. This part of the book closes with a brief mention of the necessity for adult education.

In the author's opinion, "The first need is for fundamental research on what elderly people can and cannot do and for the development of techniques which will preserve and maintain their capacities." Consequently, the second half of the book concentrates on the trend in research, research potentials, and methods of furthering re-

search. There is a detailed listing of specific research projects being carried on by individual investigators, together with a brief mention of the principal institutions and agencies sponsoring research. This survey reveals that very few research centers are planning fundamental studies of the aging process, and that there is a distinct lack of investigations concerned with the psychological and sociological aspects of aging.

Although there is little that is new in this book, it probably serves a purpose in assembling, in a readable manner, some general information concerning aging, which will be convenient for persons with an intelligent layman's interest in the problem. The serious student will find little with which he is not already familiar.

HAROLD F. DORN.

National Institutes of Health.

Uncle Sam's Acres. By Marion Clawson. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1951. Pp. xvi + 414. \$5.00.

Although the federal government has disposed of a billion acres of land, it still owns or is trustee for nearly another one-half billion. *Uncle Sam's Acres* methodically tells how this huge estate was acquired, how most of it was disposed of, and how it is managed at the present time. Among the chapters are ones entitled "Uncle Sam, Landlord," "Reservation and Conservation of Public Land," "We Develop Our Water Resources," and "The Federal Agencies That Administer Our Estate."

Probably the most provocative section, and certainly the one that was the most interesting to this reviewer, is concerned with "Policies and Politics." The author is a brilliant student of contemporary land-use policies and practices, particularly as they relate to public land management. He is at his best when analyzing such topics as "Special Versus General Public Interest," "Pressure Groups," "Federal Versus State Issues," and "Valley Authority Versus Bureau."

The conflict between public and private ownership is more apparent than real in government ownership of land. Actually, much of the land is used by private persons, private companies, or by the general public in the case of recreation areas, and the government merely regulates its use. The task of the public land or water administrator is not an easy one. He must reconcile the interests of competing users of the land or water and must regulate the

use on the basis of the number of persons involved and the nature and intensity of their interests. Moreover, "Any permanent system of management of the public lands must assume a changing technology, and changing uses."

As Director of the Bureau of Land Management in the Department of the Interior, Dr. Clawson writes with authority; but the reader is soon made aware that Clawson's real authority stems from a thorough knowledge of the subject and a penetrating understanding of the persons, institutions, and problems that accompany the government's ownership of land.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

The University of Connecticut.

Leadership in Recreation. By Gerald B. Fitzgerald. Minneapolis: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1951. Pp. ix + 291. \$3.50.

This book is obviously designed for the college student preparing himself professionally for the recreation field. The emphasis throughout is on the "recreation" rather than the "leadership" part of the title. As a matter of fact, the book might as logically be called "recreation methods" as to bear its present title.

The book is very largely a cataloguing of proven recreation methods and experiences. In this it can make a valuable contribution to the beginning student in the field. However, it is written from the physical-education, as over against the more mellowing cultural-arts, point of view. Furthermore, the rapidly accumulating recreation experiences in rural areas are conspicuously lacking; and no attempt, other than an occasional brief reference, is made to interpret urban experience in rural areas.

Rural sociologists, on the other hand, will like the emphasis that is placed on people rather than on activities. In this sense, the chapter concerned with the use of "The Committee Method" represents a timely emphasis in group work methodology. The same might be said of the chapter concerned with "Qualifications, Concepts, and Methods of Leadership," except that this reviewer is inclined to quarrel with what appears to be an over-emphasis on the "personality aspect of leadership." Likewise, the reviewer cannot accept the statement that "specific training for recreation leadership should be reserved for the graduate level."

In brief, this book is an attempt at cataloguing the best in urban recreation ex-

perience from the point of view of the professional leader in the recreation field. Its emphasis on people is in line with socially approved present-day trends. But it provides many opportunities for the sociologist to differ with the author, both on theory and on interpretations. Furthermore, while a few of the chapters are well done, others

have obviously been rather hastily brought together. Although the author impresses the reader as being a thorough master of his subject matter, it appears as though a few more months in preparation would have paid big dividends.

A. F. WILEDEN.

University of Wisconsin.

BOOK NOTES

by the Book Review Editor

Teacher's Manual to Accompany American Community Behavior. By Jessie Bernard. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Pp. 67. No price listed.

This manual consists of a preface relating how the author has used *American Community Behavior* in the classroom, and a series of review and discussion questions based upon her experience in teaching materials contained in the textbook.

The general idea embodied in *American Community Behavior* is to teach college-educated persons what they ought to know about sociology, by laying bare the structure and processes of present-day American democracy, devoid of special pleading, panaceas, or partisanship.

The manual is designed to give teachers who use the text the benefit of the author's extended experience in teaching the course and, as such, should prove quite helpful, especially where a high degree of student participation is desired.

Children of Europe. A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries: Their War-time Experiences, Their Reactions, and Their Needs, with a Note on Germany. By Dorothy Macardle. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951. Pp. 349. \$3.75.

Dorothy Macardle visited some of the countries of Europe, talked with relief workers and administrators in voluntary, national, and international organizations, and read widely. She presents, "like an honest journalist, facts and case-histories that may help to illuminate and illustrate the truth" (p. 12). There is narrative, rather than research on social and psychological processes and impact. There is no estimation of needs or evaluation of programs according to the methods of the

social workers. Quantitative data are generally omitted; those cited without sources are often extraordinary, e.g., infant mortality in prewar Rumania was 38 per cent, and it rose to 80 per cent during the war (p. 200). As journalism, the story is history; for this volume on Europe's children, published in 1951, includes nothing on the new indoctrination and the new deportations that have replaced those of Hitler in the East.

New Spain's Century of Depression (Ibero-Americana: 35). By Woodrow Borah. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. Pp. 58. \$0.75 (paper).

This deals with demographic trends, economic difficulties, and solutions to problems of food supply and labor, as centered primarily in Mexican colonial life. It is a type of anthropo-social history which is quite useful in the interpretation of rural cultural patterns.

Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education. By Lloyd Allen Cook. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951. Pp. xv + 271. \$3.75.

This is volume 11, *College Study in Intergroup Relations*, and is designed for the orientation of teachers into various aspects of ethnic, or similar, conflicts. As educational sociology it has a high potential value, being fortified by factual matter and critically set together.

Not By A Long Shot. By Margaret Cussler. New York: Exposition Press, 1951. Pp. 200. \$3.00.

This is the unique behind-the-scenes account of how 16-mm. documentary sound

film are made, and of how two young women with the eyes of sociologists set out to form a film company on a shoestring. It is likely to prove interesting to the photo-minded rural sociologist.

Upon Its Own Resources: Conservation and State Administration. By Lawrence L. Durisch and Hershal L. Macon. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1951. Pp. iii + 136. \$3.00.

This little book is published jointly by presses of the Universities of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and the University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration, which is a commendable form of interuniversity cooperation. It describes the state agencies and programs for conserving natural resources in eight Southeastern States. It is amply supported by factual data and documentation. Chapter 6, "Problems and Prospects," will be especially interesting to rural sociologists.

Becoming American. By Irene D. Jarowski. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. viii + 114. \$1.50.

Written in collaboration with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, by a high school teacher of English, this book deals with problems of immigrants and their children. It is well placed and should serve a useful purpose.

Readings in Agricultural Economics, Nature and Scope. (Foreword by Manilal Nanavati.) Bombay: The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, n. d. Pp. 160. Rs.5/.

This book, apparently published in 1951, is the first of a series. The second is to be on rehabilitation of backward areas, the third on agricultural prices, and the fourth on rural sociology. The papers in this volume are practically all of either American or English authorship, as is to be expected. It will not be difficult for the American student to find this material, since it is published in familiar sources. However, the collection should serve a vital function in India, where agricultural economics has

received scant attention up to now. Undoubtedly, the volume on rural sociology will fill a void of even greater dimensions. The address of the society is Esplanade Mansions, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay.

Support for Independent Scholarship and Research. By Elbridge Sibley. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951. Pp. xv + 116. \$1.25 (paper).

In this age of mass production, regional cooperation, and limitless regimentation of research, it is encouraging to find an appraisal of the individual scholar and his prospects. Productive original research appears to come from habits established in early life. Hence, early recognition of achievement is important, as is also a fertile environment for research in the formative years of professional careers. At every possible point Sibley stresses this thesis, and he shows how grants-in-aid can be implemented toward its realization.

Crime and the Community. By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. xiv + 487. \$4.50.

This book was copyrighted by Columbia University Press and published by Ginn & Company in 1938. It was republished by Columbia University Press in 1951. Chapter XV, "Prison Labor and Industry," is of the most direct import to rural sociology. The author is well-known for his books, *Mexican Agrarian Revolution* and *The Darker Phases of the South*.

Demographic Yearbook, 1949-50, 2nd issue (1951, XIII:1). By United Nations Department of Social Affairs, Population Division. New York: Columbia University Press (distributor), 1950. Pp. 558. \$6.00.

This volume, printed in English and French, surveys recent world population trends. Its size and character preclude detailed review, except to say that students of population will find in it a vast wealth of demographic information not conveniently available elsewhere.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by T. Wilson Longmore*

PUBLICATIONS REVIEWED

New Americans: A Study of Displaced Persons in Louisiana and Mississippi. Rudolf Heberle and Dudley S. Hall. Displaced Persons Commission, Baton Rouge. 93 pp. 1951.

New Americans, to our knowledge, is the first study to provide scientific data rather than "impressionistic guesses" about some of the characteristics and the problems of adjustment of the people admitted to the United States under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

This brief but excellent study will be of particular interest to students of rural life in the United States, for at least two reasons. In the first place, under terms of the Displaced Persons Act, high priority is given to "persons who have previously engaged in agricultural pursuits and intend to follow agricultural pursuits in the United States. Not less than thirty per cent of all visas shall be made available exclusively to such persons and their families." Secondly, *New Americans* is a study of 2,039 displaced persons who, up until September 1949, had been resettled deep in the heart of the rural South—in Louisiana and Mississippi—and two-thirds of them were farmers or farm workers.

Perhaps at no time in world history has there been such a large number of persons who are unable or do not wish to return to their native countries in Europe, which they were forced to leave during World War II. The impact of such forced movements must be considerable in its sociological and psychological effects upon family life and upon the plans, hopes, and ambitions of millions of people. The resettlement of these displaced persons who have become "persons without a homeland" is not an ordinary migration problem. The social planning of the IRO to resettle displaced persons throughout the United States in environments that approximate those of their former countries is a very significant and unique program of directed migration. How these displaced persons have adjusted to new cultural values and social ways of living—that are quite different from those from which they have been abruptly and perhaps permanently separated—is of considerable interest to the social scientist.

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

New Americans is a first attempt to study objectively "the adjustment to a different system of values, especially moral values."

The group of "new Americans" studied are mainly from Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia. The Catholics—mostly Poles and Lithuanians—are concentrated on the sugar plantations in the French-Catholic rural areas of southern Louisiana, while the Lutheran Latvians tend to be concentrated on the cotton plantations in northeastern Mississippi.

Following an introductory section on the background of the displaced persons problem, the main study is divided into two parts. The first part is a rather detailed description of the demographic characteristics of all of the 2,039 persons resettled in Louisiana and Mississippi. Statistical and graphic material is presented and analyzed regarding the origin and distribution, the religion (incidentally, only 30 were Jewish), age and sex composition, marital and family status, and occupation and rural-urban residence of the displaced persons.

The dynamic aspects of the study—those dealing with the current situation—are based upon information from a fifteen per cent sample; i.e., from interviews with 72 representative families (33 in Louisiana and 39 in Mississippi), most of whom were resettled in rural areas, and two-thirds of whom were engaged in agricultural work. Restrictions of time and finances limited the study "to those conditions of their present life and work which can be easily observed and which lend themselves to objective and eventually quantitative statement."

One handicap which the authors could not have foreseen was that the current situation was still very much in a state of flux during the time of the study, and under these conditions it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the success or failure of the resettlement of these displaced persons. Undoubtedly, the newness and uniqueness of this directed migration program gave rise to many unanticipated problems which were yet in the "ironing out" process. For example, it is pointed out "that only about forty per cent of the displaced persons who arrived in Louisiana in the spring and summer of 1949 still remain

in the State." If those who left were replaced by other displaced persons, then the majority would not have had time enough to more than begin their process of adjustment; if they were not replaced, then generalizations may have been drawn only from those who were most successful in adjusting to their new environment. While the answers are beyond the scope of the present study, one wonders why so many left and where they went.

Although the writers point out that problems of adjustment have for the most part been resolved, one is impressed by the need of more sociological interpretation to the IRO, to the sponsor, and to the displaced persons themselves, about the situation from which the settlers came and that into which they are to enter. On the other hand, one can hardly fail to be impressed with the remarkable achievements of a program so new, so vast, and so complex in its scope and purpose.

T. STANTON DIETRICH.

The Florida State University.

Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado. Howard E. Thomas and Florence Taylor. National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. 117 pp. Nov. 1951. \$1.25.

Colorado Tale. National Child Labor Committee. 21 pp. Nov. 1951. 50c.

People who want a detailed picture of the economic and social circumstances of migrant farm workers in our postwar society will find their wants amply satisfied in these publications prepared for the Governor's Survey Committee on Migrant Labor in Colorado. The first is a statistical and descriptive study of a 262-family sample of the migratory workers in Colorado. It contains chapters on the composition of the migrant groups, their recruitment and transportation, their employment and incomes, their housing, food, and medical care, their community contacts, and the care, education, and work of their children. The second publication is a pictorial supplement which effectively presents some of the more seamy aspects of the migratory labor situation. Both bear out the observation of the authors that, while the people who migrate and the paths of migration have changed, yet there has been no change in the substandard conditions under which migratory workers live and work.

The question may be raised as to whether it is possible for investigators of such a subject to remain entirely objective. The

authors were definitely affected by the plight of the workers and are quite sympathetic in their accounts of injustice and discrimination. Yet the study goes a long way toward providing an objective quantitative analysis of the life of migratory workers in a seasonal work area. The sample studied was objectively determined and the survey work done by trained interviewers, one of whom was Spanish-American. These foundations give us more confidence in such items as: 39.4 per cent of the migrants 16 years old and over spoke only Spanish, 64.9 per cent of those 7 to 16 years old spoke only Spanish, 36.4 per cent of the male heads of families had never been to school. (We are led to wonder how much of the seasonal work in that area is now done by green arrivals from across the border.)

Students of migratory labor have theorized as to why migrants follow the crops. Five per cent of the families interviewed migrated because they liked to, two per cent because of health, ninety-three per cent because of economic necessity.

While such subjects as community relationships must of necessity be handled qualitatively, the authors bring in quantitative data in many ways. Price differentials are an example: local residents paid 39 cents for salt pork, migrants 45 cents; locals paid 51 cents for hot dogs, migrants 55 cents; locals 31 cents for bacon ends, migrants 35 cents; locals 45 cents for long-horn cheese, migrants 50 cents; etc.

The method used in appraising the dietary habits of the workers borders on the incongruous. We find that 95.4 per cent of the families used no butter or margarine during the sample week, 24.0 per cent no milk or milk products, 18.0 per cent no meat, poultry, or fish, 72.0 per cent no green or leafy vegetables. The one-sided tortillas-and-beans diet of these Spanish-American families may be no better than the rating it receives when checked against recent American standards, yet the cultural aspects in the case render a direct comparison indecisive. Many checks were made in regard to housing, and we note that growers with good housing were able to secure superior workers and that those workers kept the houses in order. At the other end of the housing scale the urge toward quantification went to the extreme. Counts were made of the number of bedbugs per square foot of mattress area and wall space.

The report concludes with a set of recommendations which derive not only from the field work in Colorado but from the

findings of students of migratory labor generally. The disturbing fact, however, that conditions of farm workers have not greatly changed, in spite of the many years of effort to help them, leads the reader to wonder whether right conditions are possible so long as migrant farm labor is a part of our economy. Rather than to add to the palliatives, we might better do away with the local overspecialization which brings about the system of migratory labor with its substandard conditions and undependable floating labor supplies.

WILLIAM H. METZLER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Inter-American Education Occasional Papers V, VI, and VII. University of Texas Press, Austin. (Sent free on request.)

The following Occasional Papers deal with the problems of the Spanish-American populace living in Texas. For the purpose of clarity in making a review, each paper is considered separately:

V. The Spanish-Speaking Population of Texas. Lyle Saunders. 56 pp. Dec. 1949.

Recognizing the great need for more adequate population statistics concerning the Spanish-American people residing in Texas, the author has attempted to present in this monograph certain estimates with reference to the number, proportion of total population, and distribution throughout the state of these people. A second and closely related objective is to point out certain past changes and current trends of population movement.

For an operational definition of Spanish-American people the author relies solely upon the distinguishing characteristic of language, and throughout the study the phrase "Spanish-speaking people" serves to designate this cultural group.

Working from U. S. Census and State Department of Education statistics, the total white, and white scholastic populations were determined. Next, the proportion of white scholastics who are Spanish-speaking was ascertained, and from this, the total Spanish-speaking population was estimated. In making this calculation, the author relied upon the assumption that, "the ratio between Spanish-speaking scholastics and total white scholastics is exactly the same as that between total Spanish-speaking population and total white population."

The reviewer seriously doubts the validity of this assumption. From his own experience, working with and living among

the Spanish-speaking people of Texas, he found a disproportionately small percentage of Spanish-speaking children attending school, considering the proportion of Spanish-speaking people in the total population. It is the reviewer's opinion that the ratio of Spanish-speaking population to total white population is much greater than the ratio of Spanish-speaking scholastics to total white scholastics would indicate. It should be noted here, however, that the author himself expresses some doubt as to the validity of this and other assumptions upon which his study is based.

Some of the more pertinent findings of the study are: (1) The total Spanish-speaking population of Texas is probably somewhere between 1,100,000 and 1,300,000 plus undetermined thousands of "wet-backs" (Mexican aliens who have illegally entered the U. S. in search of employment, usually agricultural). (2) The Spanish-speaking group is increasing at a more rapid rate than the population of Texas as a whole. (3) The Spanish-speaking population is concentrated in certain areas, particularly in South Texas. (4) There is a movement of the Spanish-speaking group from rural to urban areas.

VI. Labor Requirements and Labor Resources in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Eastin Nelson and Frederic Meyers. 33 pp. Dec. 1950.

This monograph is principally an economic treatise, dealing with the complex labor problems existing in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. The authors have attempted to present "the basic facts about the magnitude of labor requirements, the various alternative sources of labor supply, and the economic impact upon the communities involved resulting from the utilization of these alternative sources."

According to the authors, the Lower Valley of Texas affords unusual opportunities for agricultural workers because of the year-round growing season. There are jobs for some thirty to forty thousand people during eight months of the year. Although the number of jobs decreases during the other four months, there are opportunities in nearby Corpus Christi during two of these. The valley, then, theoretically could offer relatively stable employment to thousands of agricultural laborers, and only a minimum of migration would be required. This possibility of a stable labor force is shattered, however, by continuous illegal traffic of Mexican nationals back and forth across the border. The extremely low wages and living conditions which

these wetbacks are willing to tolerate have forced the regular valley residents either to accept the same conditions or migrate north. Large numbers migrate, leaving the valley ever more dependent upon the wetbacks for the labor supply. The social and economic repercussions of such a vicious cycle become readily apparent.

The authors feel that a rectification of the low-wage and poor living conditions in the valley, plus control of illegal entry into the country, would contribute materially to the development of a dependable permanent-resident agricultural labor supply. The authors propose that, when the services of Mexican nationals are needed, they be obtained through international agreement in which both the Mexican nationals and the American workers with whom they would compete would be protected by international contract. Unfortunately, it would be difficult to institute the changes the authors propose. The labor problem of the Lower Rio Grande Valley represents but one manifestation of the larger deep-seated Anglo-Spanish animosity. The general orientation of the Anglo farmers in the Lower Valley with reference to the Spanish populace is not harmonious to the development of a stable resident agricultural labor supply.

VII. The Wetback in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Lyle Saunders and Olen E. Leonard. 92 pp. July 1951.

Because of the very serious problems facing the people of Texas—and to a lesser extent the people of the United States as a whole—resulting from the presence of large numbers of wetbacks in this country, the present study was undertaken to provide a more complete picture of the wetback in the area of his greatest concentration, the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

The general purpose of the study, as described by the authors, "was to determine the extent and to outline the major implications of the periodic migration of illegal aliens into the valley." Specific attention was given to determining: an estimate of the number of wetbacks in the valley during the peak of the cotton harvest, the more pertinent characteristics of the wetbacks themselves, their relationships with the Anglo and Spanish-speaking residents of the valley, and some of the prevailing beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes of the valley folk with reference to them.

Some of the salient findings of the investigation are:

(1) During the 1950 cotton season, in the three Lower Valley counties of Hidalgo,

Cameron, and Willacy, there were more than 100,000 alien laborers in the fields. There was a ratio of one wetback for every three valley residents, including men, women, and children. Considering adult males only, the ratio was approximately one to one. The prevalence of the wetbacks in the region is further indicated by the fact that, in the McAllen sector of the Lower Valley, 221,000 aliens were returned to Mexico during the period July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950.

(2) The wetbacks are found to be generally males between the ages of 18 and 30. About half are married. Most of them come from deep in the interior of Mexico. They are lured mainly through rumors concerning the possibilities for quick economic gain in the U. S., and because of the difficult economic situation existing in Mexico. Almost all wetbacks are employed in unskilled jobs, at a prevailing wage of 25 cents an hour. They generally arrive in the U. S. by swimming or wading the treacherous Rio Grande River, and their duration of continuous residence in the U. S. is usually not more than a few weeks or months at most.

(3) The relationships of the wetbacks and the Anglos in the valley are largely limited to those of an economic nature. Aside from the instances where children of both groups attend the same public schools, the only contacts between them occur in the fields or in business. The relationship of the wetbacks to the older resident Spanish population varies considerably from their relation with the Anglos. The two Spanish-speaking groups are thrown into direct competition, resulting in the older resident group being forced to work at the same wage level as the wetbacks or to migrate north in search of employment.

(4) The attitude of the valley Anglo group toward the wetback is that they want as many of them as will fulfill their employment needs and provide a slight excess of labor, but they desire no social association. The attitudes of the local Spanish-speaking people toward the wetbacks are frequently ambivalent. They resent the competition, low wages, and poor living conditions; yet many are sympathetic toward the newcomers, and there exists a loose in-group feeling among those of the two groups.

This study of the wetbacks represents a valuable addition to existing literature concerning Anglo-Spanish relations. It deals with a problem of basic importance to all Americans. The situation in the Rio Grande Valley has now spread to other parts of

Texas, and to parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California. In areas of these states, and even as far east as Michigan, the agricultural economy has become at least in part dependent upon the labor of Mexican nationals, wetbacks, and legally contracted laborers. A rural economic system based upon such a force is basically unsound.

Even more important than the economic considerations are the social repercussions. The Anglos, upon meeting these Mexican laborers who are generally illiterate, poorly clad, dirty, and unable to speak English, tend to form a stereotype of all Spanish-speaking people on the basis of this grouping. Distinctions are set up, and segregation begins to develop.

The use of Mexican nationals as part of our unskilled labor force has served to aggravate tensions already existent between the Anglo and Spanish peoples. The study of the wetback situation in the Lower Rio Grande Valley illuminates the resultant situation in its most aggravated form.

REED M. POWELL.

University of Oklahoma.

Rural-Urban Migration in Wisconsin, 1940-1950. Margaret Jarman Hagood and Emmit F. Sharp. Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 176, Madison. 56 pp. Aug. 1951.

This research bulletin apparently is a result of Hagood's tenure at Wisconsin as Visiting Lecturer in Rural Sociology during the spring semester of 1951. The co-author is listed as a graduate research assistant in rural sociology. The analysis really goes much beyond a consideration of rural-urban migration. Topics which are investigated are population growth to 1940; population change by economic areas, 1940-50; births and deaths, 1940-49; population change through migration, 1940-50; migration to cities, 1940-50; the relationships between migration and agricultural factors; the relationships between migration and industrial factors; and future population trends. The appendix gives detailed county tables for the data used in the study, methods of developing estimates and projections, and the current age-sex composition of Wisconsin's population.

The methodology used in determining the net migration for the decade under consideration is "to take the 1940 enumerated population of an area, add the births that occurred over the ten-year period, subtract the deaths, and compare the resulting population to the population ac-

tually enumerated in 1950, imputing the difference as population change due to migration" (p. 51). This was done by counties and economic areas for both the rural and urban segments of the population of Wisconsin. For the most part, however, the analysis is made in terms of economic areas as defined in the 1950 census. The migration from rural areas thus observed is found to be related to a reduction in the number of farms, a rise in farm level of living, changes in the number of hired laborers, and an increase in farm mechanization—as well as to the volume of farm products sold. Industrial factors such as the increase in production workers and the wages of these workers were also examined to determine their relationships to rural-urban migration. The research technique used to determine these correlations is the scatter diagram.

Some of the most interesting findings of this study are only indirectly related to the central problem. The authors state that "the most dramatic and unexpected cause of change in Wisconsin's population during the last decade was the unprecedented and sustained rise in the birth rate" (p. 4). Furthermore, they discovered that "crude urban death rates increased faster than rural rates and exceeded them in several years" (p. 4). An increase of 50 per cent occurred in the crude birth rate of the total population, and in the years 1942, 1943, 1946, and 1947, the crude birth rate was actually higher for the urban than for the rural population. The authors recognize that the age-sex composition of the urban and rural populations must be considered in evaluating these changes in the crude birth rate. Nevertheless, they state that "the marked change in the rural-urban differential cannot be accounted for by age-sex composition" (p. 13). These are findings which are of much significance to demographers who are seeking information regarding the nature of the general increase in birth rates observed in the United States during the last decade.

Unfortunately, there are evidences that the manuscript was not properly edited before final publication. For instance, Map 3 appears on page 24, and Map 2 on page 35. Furthermore, there is no direct reference to these maps in the study. Map 3 is entitled "Net Change in Rural Population Due to Migration, Economic Areas, 1940-50." However, the reviewer can discover no such representation in the map itself, as the percentages of population gain or loss as shown do not correspond with the data contained in Table 10 or Appendix Table C,

which provide such information by economic areas and counties. It appears that Map 3 is erroneously labeled and probably printed out of place in the manuscript. Although the bulletin is not up to the high standards of scholarship usually maintained by Hagood, it does contain a wealth of useful and interesting information for the rural sociologist and demographer.

PAUL H. PRICE.

Louisiana State University.

Old Age and Retirement in Rural Connecticut: I. East Haddam: A Summer Report Community. Walter C. McKain, Jr. and Elmer D. Baldwin. Conn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 278, Storrs. 46 pp. June 1951.

This bulletin is timely because the economic and social changes resulting from the increasing proportion of elderly people in the rural population demand consideration. It is of special interest because it deals not only with the resulting situations and problems for a community as a whole but also with two major groups of population—native-born and foreign-born—such as many New England rural communities have. (In East Haddam, the latter group are largely from eastern Europe.) The American-born group had the advantage of distinctly higher economic, educational, and social backgrounds than did the foreign-born. The report shows how these facts affected the reasons leading to retirement from occupational activity, the extent of such retirement, and the subsequent adjustments. Some of the resulting community problems are indicated.

JOSIAH C. FOLSOM.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Housing and Journey to Work. Glenn H. Beyer. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 877. Ithaca. 19 pp. Aug. 1951.

This bulletin is a description of (1) the differences between commuter and noncommuter families and their housing in the rural area surrounding a middle-sized industrial city—Rochester N. Y., and (2) the journey-to-work patterns of the commuters. Its purpose is simply to provide new facts on these matters because "not much information exists on the housing problems caused by the stepping-up of defense activities."

The data for the study were obtained in (1) a sample survey of housing conditions and house improvement practices in Monroe County, N. Y., in 1949, and (2) a re-

study one year later of the commuter families—i.e., those which the first study showed had one or more members commuting to work in the Rochester urban area. The sampling procedure seems to be adequate for the purposes of the study.

Statistically significant differences were found to exist between the commuter and noncommuter families for most of the factors studied. The commuter families are larger, their heads are younger, they have more schooling and are more concentrated in the middle stages of the family life cycle than are the noncommuters. They are employed in manufacturing for the most part, whereas the noncommuters are engaged in a number of occupations, with agriculture at the top.

Generally the houses occupied by commuter families are newer than those of noncommuters, a fact that appears to account for most of the other observed differences in the housing of these two categories. Homes of the commuters are in better condition, and a larger proportion of them have complete baths. Differences were not significant between the two groups in ownership patterns and location relative to land class. Most commuters in this area use autos for the journey to work, but the author examines the possibilities of public transportation as an alternative.

The most important conclusions seem to be:

(1) There is a greater potential labor supply for defense industries among the noncommuter families, especially among the 70% of this group who are not engaged in agriculture, than among the members of commuter families who are not now at work.

(2) A generally favorable situation for commuting workers exists in this county, which reduces the need for in-migration of families from other areas if the demand for labor in defense industries increases.

No attempt has been made to interrelate the characteristics of "housing" and the "journey to work" to one another or to any theoretical formulation with carry-over value for other studies. One such area, which is suggested by the title itself, is the effect of commuting on the functional requirements of the family for housing, a subject about which little is known. It also seems to this reviewer that the practical utility of the study in the local situation would have been increased had more emphasis been given to such items as the number of additional workers' families that might be provided for by existing housing

and transportation facilities, public and private.

JAMES W. GREEN.

North Carolina State College.

Housing Preferences of Farm Families in the Northeast. James E. Montgomery. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 872. Ithaca. 32 pp. July 1951.

This bulletin, with its emphasis on understanding the people to be housed, is a welcome addition to our very limited knowledge of the all-important human element in farm housing.¹

The data were obtained in a sample housing survey of 607 farm families living on owner-operated farms in the 12 Northeastern States, a survey jointly sponsored by the Experiment Stations of each state involved and the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, USDA. The results of the survey have already been published in a book, entitled *Farm Housing in the Northeast*, by Glenn H. Beyer. This bulletin on preferences is one of several follow-up detailed reports on particular phases of the larger work, each contributing to a knowledge of the basic dimensions and arrangements for space and equipment in the farmhouse.

Beginning with their present housing conditions each family was asked to state its specific preferences relative to (1) the house in general, (2) space for performing selected activities in the house, and (3) major items of equipment.

A section at the beginning of the study, on the theoretical and practical function of preferences in house planning, helps to orient the reader—in nontechnical terms—to the problem. It is pointed out that preferences are learned in a number of ways and that they may change from time to time. The conclusion is reached that there are many other social and economic factors which must be considered in planning new houses or improving old ones, but that preferences of those who are to occupy the house are of use as partial guides—and important ones—in house planning.

The body of the bulletin is organized in five sections, the first one on the nature of the housing problem in the Northeast. This is followed by sections on each of the

types of preferences studied. For purposes of analysis, the families were divided into three economic groups and comparisons were made between them.

Unlike some areas of the South with which the reviewer is familiar, the farm housing problem in the Northeast is not one of too few, too small houses. It is one of improving existing dwellings rather than building new ones. Most of the houses are large two- to two-and-a-half-story frame dwellings over 60 years old. The over-all problem is to rearrange the space in these large houses for modern living needs, to provide more adequate storage areas, and to install or improve modern equipment.

It is not possible in this brief review to summarize the preferences expressed by the families questioned. For the house in general, they cover the number of stories, number of rooms, porches, basements, bedrooms, bathrooms, space for "washing-up," laundry and utility rooms, office space, and storage space. Preferences toward space usage included the following activities: serving meals, food preparation, entertaining, indoor play, washing, ironing, and sewing. Major types of equipment about which expressions of preferences and plans for buying were secured include central heat, ranges, laundry equipment, and refrigeration.

These families were by no means dissatisfied with all of these items. For example, most families were satisfied with their present ranges and laundry equipment, but a bathroom and central heat were high on the priority lists of those without them.

Perhaps the most important shortcoming of this bulletin is the lack of enough methodological detail to satisfy other research workers in the field of the sociology of housing. For example, we are not told what types of questions were used in the study, whether open or check list; pertinent excerpts from the schedule would have helped. Another point is the lack of clarity in the description of the bases for determining a family's economic status. Although classification by economic status is based on cash income, it apparently could be altered by other factors; but precisely how is unclear.

This bulletin is a valuable contribution to the slowly growing literature on the human element in farm housing, with many implications for both practitioners and other research workers in the field of the sociology of housing.

JAMES W. GREEN.

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¹ See the following somewhat comparable studies: H. R. Cottam, *Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*. State College: Penna. State College AES Bull. 436. 1942; V. F. Cutler, *Personal and Family Values in the Choice of a Home*. Ithaca: Cornell U. AES Bull. 840. 1947.

Family Factors in Tenure Experience: Hamilton County, Iowa, 1946. Robert A. Rohwer. Iowa Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 375. Ames. Pp. 818-872. July 1950.

This study merits more than ordinary commendation, not only for its subject matter content but for its systematic and complete statement of research methods and objectives. Beginning with a statement on the origins of the study, there follow clear statements of purpose and hypothesis, design of the study, sampling procedure, definition of terms, extended details relative to the various statistical measures (including their limitations), and statements regarding further research. The study concludes with five abbreviated case studies, so that "the reader may see the undissected case materials and judge for himself the adequacy of the measurements used." The bulletin is an excellent example of research procedure.

The report proposes to answer three questions, which are, in the order of space utilized: "(1) What is the relationship between familism in farming and security on the land? (2) Does familism in farming appear to affect the occupational histories of farmers? (3) Does a farm operator's security on the land seem to vary with other characteristics of his family, such as the number of his brothers and sisters, their nationality, the relationship between the operator and his wife, and other family considerations?" The findings are based on interviews with 146 randomly selected farm families in Hamilton County, Iowa.

Important to the study are the methods designed for measuring familism and security on the land. Familism is measured by utilizing five factors, each of which constitutes a continuum from the familistic to the individualistic pole. Each continuum is divided into two parts and a simple index of familism derived. The factors used in the measurement are: "1. Operator's starting farming through family arrangements . . . 2. Working together of the family in regular farming activities . . . 3. Siblings' choice of the occupation of farming . . . 4. Continuity of the family on a home farm . . . 5. Family policy favoring business arrangements and cooperation within the family." The concept, security on the land, which means: "(1) freedom from the threat of eviction from home and farm and (2) the opportunity to manage the farm independently," was measured in terms of the following factors: (a) adequacy of the farm, (b) tenure status, (c) amount of encumbrance and equity, (d) acres in farm,

(e) feeling of security, (f) tenant assurance of later title, (g) type of lease. Based on these factors, holding age constant, the operators were divided into three classes, "the most secure third, the middle third, and the least secure third." It may be inserted here that, although the author indicates the superiority of a "security" measure over the older tenure classification, the method of determining "security" is rather heavily weighted with tenure or closely related factors.

The author concludes that "there is a real association between farm operators' security on the land and the familism in farming of their great families, but the relationship is not close." On the other hand, the *most secure* farm operators seemed definitely to come from the *most familistic* great families." Also, the relationship between security and familism varied by age groups. This, according to the author, is a reflection of business cycles.

The other two major hypotheses of the study, concerning (1) familism in relationship to occupational history and (2) security as related to selected family characteristics are also treated statistically. As to the first, the author draws the following conclusion: "The farm operators whose great families were most familistic in their farming enjoyed the most stability of occupation and the most stable residence. They spent fewer years as hired men or in non-farm work or both, and left home latest." In commenting on the attempt to relate security and such family factors as kinship in tenure, sociability, interaction in the conjugal family, family cooperation, ethnicity, and family affluence, the author indicates that "trying to account for security on the land through family factors, other than familism in farming as it was previously measured, was quite unsuccessful."

At the conclusion of the report, the author makes a number of excellent methodological suggestions and indicates some next steps in research; among these are better sampling, standardizing the familism index, follow-up studies, and the like. In addition to this list, the reviewer would suggest a further study of the concept "security on the land" with respect to its usefulness in measuring whatever it is that the American farmer wants. As the author well states, "One may readily observe that Iowa farm families seek not only security on the land, but also maximum profits, increased net worth, leisure time, a high scale of living, and other objectives." Since the objective sought is not "security

on the land," apart from level of living and various other considerations, it would seem that the concept, although a step in the right direction, is somewhat restricted in its scientific usefulness, without more refinement.

A commendable feature of the bulletin is a section dealing with suggestions for action and policy making. Interestingly and well written throughout, the bulletin contains twelve statistical tables in the main body of the report and seven in the appendix.

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER.

University of Maryland.

Rural Levels of Living in Lee and Jones Counties, Mississippi, 1945, and a Comparison of Two Methods of Data Collection. Barbara B. Reagan and Evelyn Grossman. U. S. Dept. of Agr. Inf. Bull. 41. Washington. 164 pp. Oct. 1951. 40c.

The levels of living of rural consumer units in Lee and Jones Counties, Mississippi, were examined in 1945 following a modest growth of industrial employment within the area. Rural nonfarm units had higher cash incomes but produced less for home consumption than consumer units located on farms. Perhaps of more importance was the discovery that considerable variation existed between farm units that used the farm primarily as a residence and farm units that had sales of farm products amounting to \$200 or more. Consumer units located on farms that were primarily residential had higher levels of living than units on farms where sales equaled at least \$200. The authors suggest that an even more detailed breakdown of farm consumer units might be desirable, and that if one were employed the results would be more meaningful. Ordinary cross-sectional analysis does have its disadvantages, and in detailed budget studies they are becoming quite apparent.

The bulletin also contains a methodological note relative to the split-schedule technique, a device designed to shorten the time required to complete the interviewing. The authors concluded that, while this technique might be effective in a homogeneous population, it has many shortcomings for general use. The reviewer examined the 35-page schedule that was employed in the survey and can readily see the need for some timesaving device. Perhaps the schedule could be restricted to items of proved

diagnostic value, and many items of questionable value could be eliminated.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

The University of Connecticut.

Review of Methods of Scale and Item Analysis and Their Application to a Level of Living Scale in North Carolina. Mary Jordan Harris. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Progress Rept. RS-13, Raleigh. 31 pp. July 1951.

In planning a research project in farm housing, the Department of Rural Sociology of North Carolina State College found a need for a simple standardized instrument for measuring and comparing the level of living of farm operators in North Carolina.

The author made an analysis of a level-of-living scale, its items, its differentiating ability, and other attributes that had been developed by John Paul Leagans and used in his doctoral dissertation, "The Educational Interest of Farm Operators in North Carolina as Related to Work of the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service." Leagan's study, completed in 1949, included data from 1,017 farm families chosen by the area sampling plan.

The development of the level-of-living scale was incidental to the objectives of Leagan's study, but, since the sample and the data collected were considered adequate and representative, the author proceeded to try to refine and further standardize the scale for use in the housing study.

This attempt is one of a growing number of efforts being made to develop level-of-living scales with sufficient sensitivity and discriminating ability to differentiate living levels among farm families within regions, states, or smaller areas. The development of regionally or locally adapted scales can ultimately point up factors in the level of living common to all areas of the United States.

Much scale construction and item analysis have been done on attitude scales and educational tests. The author took the unique approach of determining the application of some of these methods to the study of a level-of-living scale for North Carolina. Among them were: Thurstone's method of Equal-Appearing Intervals, Guttman's Cornell Technique of Scale Analysis, and Likert's Method of Summated Ratings.

Thurstone's method of having a large number of experts select a set of discriminative items from a larger number of pre-

selected possible items was found to be very practical. Beyond this point of initial selection, however, further scale and item analysis was found to be needed to test the discriminating ability of the various items.

Guttman's technique involves the selection of a sample of 10 to 12 items from the universe of attributes, and then administering such items to a random sample of persons from a population. Weights are assigned to the answers and scores are computed. The individuals are then ranked from high to low according to their total score. The procedure of cutting points is used to separate individuals into categories in which the responses are all the same. This ranking procedure assumes that, from a person's rank alone, one can reproduce his response to each of the several items. Guttman arbitrarily set 90 per cent reproducibility as an efficient approximation to a perfect scale. Application of the Guttman technique by the author to the North Carolina data covering 30 level-of-living items resulted in less than 80 per cent reproducibility. A further application of the technique to only 14 items for which cutting points could be established resulted in 88 per cent reproducibility, which was close to the 90 per cent set by Guttman as acceptable. A value of 91 per cent reproducibility was obtained when the technique was limited to seven items. However, it was found that this small group of relatively homogeneous items revolved largely around the possession of electricity.

The author presents criticisms of the Guttman technique, which include objection to the arbitrary basis for the coefficient of reproducibility, the lack of rigor in his method, and the lack of basis for assuming that a sample of 100 persons is adequate to test the hypothesis of reproducibility. It is pointed out, however, that those who construct a scale may wish to test their final scale for scalability, since Guttman's ideas on scales appear to be very sound, though his techniques are still a bit crude.

Likert's method, in some respects similar to Thurstone's and Guttman's, includes the selection of a large number of items or opinions on a specific subject from a number of sources, such as books, experts, etc. After the statements are presented to a group of subjects who mark their responses, scores are computed from weightings of the individual items. The highest and the lowest 27 per cent of the total scores of the subjects are then used as optimum groups for item analysis. Tests are applied to the

two groups to determine the items that best indicate a difference between the groups.

Tests which were applied here include the critical ratio method, the ϕ coefficient, point-biserial correlation, and the average correlation. By these means, it was determined which of the items in Leagan's scale should be used to make a scale for measuring level of living of farm families in North Carolina.

Of the original 30 items, those that ranked highest by all the methods were then chosen to make up the level-of-living scale for the state. These included: (1) sink in the kitchen; (2) running water; (3) tub or shower bath; (4) power washing machine; (5) mechanical refrigerator; (6) screens; (7) tractor power; (8) daily newspaper; (9) separate living room; (10) electric lights; (11) separate dining room; and (12) farm magazine.

It should be noted that all, with the exception of tractor power, represent material items associated with the home. For purposes of this study nonmaterial items, such as education, tenure, and cropland operated, were omitted from consideration. The above list includes six or seven items finally selected by the Guttman technique and six others in addition.

Application of the critical-ratio test and the ϕ coefficient were found to give results that were practically identical. It was pointed out, however, that both tests tended to select items which have an occurrence frequency of around 50 per cent—which, in effect, serves to divide families into two groups.

The average correlation and point-biserial correlation also were found to give results that were very similar. One advantage given for using the average correlation is the possibility of reducing the number of significant items necessary to make an optimum scale.

The author concludes that, in the construction of a scale for measuring a well-defined quantity, the use of the critical-ratio test, ϕ coefficient, or point-biserial correlation is adequate for choosing best items from a number of items. Experience in this study lends encouragement to those who may be struggling with the problem of techniques or methods for selecting a group of items that will adequately measure level of living. Similar types of experimentation carried out in other states would serve to validate and implement the North Carolina experience and to add appreciably to the progress in refinement of level-of-living scales.

Whether or not the components of level-of-living scales should be limited to material factors is a moot question. To increase the sociological significance of such scales, inclusion of nonmaterial factors and their testing for significance would appear to be an imperative. On this point the North Carolina study cannot be criticized, since the analysis was confined to data already collected.

PAUL J. JEHLIK.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Settlers' Progress on Two North Dakota Irrigation Projects. Stanley W. Voelker. N. Dak. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 369. U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. Agr. Econ. cooperating. Fargo. 63 pp. June 1951.

This is a "study of farm development and resource accumulation on the Buford-Trenton and Lewis and Clark projects" in North Dakota. They are small projects, with a small number of operators. They represent one of three typical kinds of irrigation development in prospect for the Plains—the small block project area in which some of the operators are engaged in irrigation only, while others utilize both irrigated and dry land. In contrast, the other two types involve either the string-like irrigation development along a stream, accompanied by high integration with the adjacent dry land; or the block-like project, largely self-contained, accompanied by intensive irrigation and only an incidental integration with the surrounding dry land.

The author has done a creditable piece of research in a subject that needs much more study. He has described, tersely, two projects, plus a deviation from customary reclamation policy. In addition, within the limits of his sample, he has analyzed some of the major farm management and economic practices and progress of the settlers. He has presented evidence that should be of help in dispelling some of the traditional prejudices and misconceptions concerning irrigation as a way of life for agriculturalists.

One of the conclusions is that irrigationists "who have few resources of their own can become established on new irrigation projects if sufficient credit is made available and various advantages are given to them (p. 9)." Among the latter are included limits on land-price inflation, prior laying out of farmsteads according to "good" land-use practices, settler selection, land leveling, and certain economic subsidies. This conclusion requires a qualification; namely, given an upswing in prices

and demand for the production. Whether the settler progress described by the author could have been made in the absence of these two conditions still needs to be demonstrated. Though the author has warned of this limitation, he did not adequately test or incorporate it in his analysis and conclusions.

The study contains several other weaknesses. A major part of the analysis and the related conclusions rest on a sample of farms. The author was not careful in describing the degree of representativeness of the sample used. This becomes a special weakness when it is realized that the universe, too, was small. Again, the author refers repeatedly to the family-type farm, especially as to size, income-production capacity, and reclamation policy. His own sample includes a wide range of variation on numerous scales of measurement. The author might have been more critical in his analysis on this count.

Finally, the study was heavily slanted in terms of farm and economic measuring sticks, with only a few references to sociological factors. Since even the farm and economic facts that were isolated were numerous, perhaps the few sociological facts should have been omitted entirely. Size and type of family, age and background of the operator, and other sociological criteria are significant in measuring the social characteristics to which the author alluded.

This study is a very good analysis upon which to build other studies of these same projects to penetrate more deeply into the factors that affect settler progress under these newly emerging reclamation policies.

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Montana State College.

Development of Irrigated Farms on the Mirage Flats Project. Kris Kristjanson. S. Dak. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 410, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. Agr. Econ. cooperating. Brookings. 28 pp. June 1951.

Missouri Basin development contemplates irrigation of many areas of established dry-land farms where annual rainfall is deficient. This bulletin presents the results of a study of a relatively young project, developed under the Case-Wheeler Program. This project, in northwestern Nebraska, had 110 farms when completed in 1946. Purpose of the bulletin is (1) to analyze the planning and settlement of the project, as an aid to formulation of sound policies and procedures in such development elsewhere,

and (2) to analyze the progress of the settlers on the project.

This report discusses the Case-Wheeler Program; the physical characteristics of the area; the history of the project; the original estimates of ability to pay; and land and water charges. It analyzes the income of settlers and the problems of converting from dryland farming to irrigation; it summarizes opinions of settlers regarding improvement of credit arrangements and project development, and the advantages and disadvantages of farming on the project. This type of study is greatly needed in the Missouri Basin, where large public investments are being made in structures and other irrigation works. The data are well utilized in the present report, but they need to be supplemented by studies of other developments in the subhumid zone of the Basin. One limitation of the study is the brief history of the project. It hardly provides solid evidence on the progress or lack of progress of settlers.

No control sample in the area was contemplated in the study. Indeed, the surrounding extensive dryland ranches of 1,000 to 10,000 acres differ greatly from the irrigation farms of 100 to 120 acres. Irrigated lands are not yet integrated with grazing lands in the vicinity. Net cash income for family living has been considerably short of the \$1500 to \$2000 contemplated in the original budgeting.

It was outside the scope of this study to analyze the community aspects of an irrigation "island" in the established ranch economy. Market facilities are largely lacking for some of the new products, and the project is rather small to give encouragement to them. Institutional and other social arrangements are yet to be developed. A rigorous analysis of such elements in the new settlement should supplement the present study.

Of the settlers on the project at the time of the study, 7 were the original owners, 42 were farmers who rented land on the projects for one or more years before buying, and 61 moved in from other parts of Nebraska or nearby states. Most of them were veterans of World War II. The enumerative survey included all settlers, but many questionnaires were not usable. It was found that those with larger livestock and machinery inventories showed better results than those without. Students would be interested, also, in the influence of previous irrigation experience on the progress of settlers.

This reviewer feels that the study needs to be repeated after 5 or 10 years, which

would add greater significance to the data obtained. At such a time, or before, some analysis should be made of the community aspects of the Mirage Flats settlement, because social factors influence the stability and success of this and other similar projects.

A. H. ANDERSON.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Social Patterns of Farming. Sloan R. Wayland. Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life. Columbia University, New York 27, New York. 82 pp. 1951.

This study lays great stress on more meaningful classifications of social phenomena—and, after careful inquiry and much joint effort, the author proceeds to set up and analyze ten newly classified social patterns of farming. These are: (1) employer farms, (2) large commercial family farms, (3) medial commercial family farms, (4) residential-commercial family farms, (5) part-time farms, (6) elders' farms, (7) subsistence farms, (8) small commercial family farms, (9) residential farms, and (10) nominal farms.

"In order to test the distinctiveness of the patterns, the distribution of farms in each pattern by eighteen basic variables was examined." Descriptions of each pattern are given in terms of a North-South dichotomy, which reveals both interesting differences and similarities.

The study is presented with the hope that some such classification will be used in the tabulation of subsequent Census reports, and in state and local studies. It certainly demonstrates that the new classification is significant.

LELAND B. TATE.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Some Churches in Coal-Mining Communities of West Virginia. Mark Rich. West Virginia Council of Churches, Charleston, and the Committee for Co-operative Field Research, 294 Fourth Ave., New York 10, New York. 63 pp. 1951.

This study, as the title indicates, deals more with the problems of churches in coal-mining towns than with the communities themselves. It is based, however, on the recognition that coal-mining communities are unusual communities, and it can introduce the student to their characteristics. As a descriptive study that does not pretend to use any high-powered research

methods, it is adequate, balanced, and realistic—if not organized for easy reading.

The study of such rural-nonfarm phenomena as mining towns has been neglected by sociologists. Few of us would want to promote a special "rural-nonfarm sociology" and the field, so far as it is cultivated at all, is likely to be left to the new industrial sociologists—if they ever get around to it. But Dr. Rich complains that his study had to be made because the work had not been done by sociologists, and one of his recommendations is that "*The State College of Agriculture* might be encouraged . . . to make special surveys of social, cultural and economic forces of coal-mining communities" (p. 60). Here, at least, is some ammunition for any rural sociologist with a secret desire to branch out into studies of rural-nonfarm communities.

Dr. Rich points out that coal miners live in compact communities, which are dependent upon other communities for many services, and dominated by coal companies. The people are generally described as friendly and cooperative, but they are relatively underorganized for social action.

In such situations the church faces some interesting problems. While the population and the church members are comparatively young and vigorous and financially able to support churches, there is a low proportion of church membership. The ministers are most often poorly paid and poorly trained—if most of them can be called trained, and many have full- or part-time jobs outside the church.

Dr. Rich divides the churches into three types. The "local-outlook" variety is made up of sects of the emotional type, the holiness and snake-handling groups and the like. He says little about the reasons for their appeal and acceptance, and he does not refer to other literature on the subject. The "standard" churches are not only affiliated with national churches; for the most part they also use the standard operating procedures. Some have adapted to the situation in the mining towns by ignoring present realities and stressing other-worldliness. The "adapted" churches are those which have faced the realities of their setting and attempted to grapple with them. Rich says the adapted churches have been well received and well supported by the miners. The community church, which is often company-sponsored, is not considered a good adaptation.

The study is not meant primarily for sociologists and not many will be interested in it. Its scope may be a bit broader than is usual in church studies made by sociolo-

gists, and some students of the church and the community may be interested in the findings. Students of industrial communities may be interested in the differences in the communities selected to approximately represent the mining towns in the state.

EDNA STRONG PEDERSEN.

State College, Mississippi.

The Cotton Community Changes. Lewis W. Jones and Ernest E. Neal. Rural Life Information Series Bull. 4. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. 26 pp. July 1951. 25c.

There is danger that a review of a summary of a larger study prepared especially for "agencies and workers in rural areas" will be unfair to the researchers. The summary was prepared for one purpose and group, but the review is written for the readers of a professional journal. This reviewer is fully aware of such danger.

This bulletin is a part of a larger study (the entire results to be published later) made by the authors under a contract with the Tennessee Valley Authority. The subtitle indicates the nature of the report—"A Study of Changes, Problems, and Adjustments in Six Types of Communities in the Cotton South." The purpose of the study was "to analyze the adjustments that are taking place in areas which differ functionally."

This is a study of six different types of Negro communities in Alabama. The communities were typed on the basis of mixed levels of criteria, as is indicated by the label given each: (1) part-time; (2) small independent; (3) plantation; (4) mechanized; (5) subsistence; and (6) dairying. The communities "chosen for study were selected, after examination of census data had been made, with the advice of Agricultural Extension Agents and others familiar with the areas." This is, then, essentially six case studies which have been compared on the basis of certain characteristics. There is no way of knowing how many similar communities there are either in Alabama or in the South, and the data presented are not sufficient for comparability with other studies, if such were desired by other research workers.

There is no indication of how the data were obtained. There is no mention of a formal schedule, individual interviews, etc. There is no indication of whether the participant-observer technique was employed, or whether the data were obtained from secondary sources. For information about

these very important matters, publication of the whole study must be awaited.

The second major part of the bulletin—"Changes Observed"—is a brief general description of the economy and some of the changes taking place in the communities. Perhaps the paradox of the changes can best be summarized by the reply of a farmer, during a rainy season, to the question of how he felt. The farmer is reported to have replied, "I'm laughing with my pasture and crying with my cotton."

The "Problems of the Communities" are discussed under three headings: "General," "Extent of Economic Security," and "Opportunities for Land Ownership." The authors conclude that the small independent and subsistence communities "offer greater economic security to the people than do the other communities." Present adjustments of communities are discussed under the headings of "Population Characteristics," "Size of Farm," and "Income." Again, on the basis of income, the small independent community was outstanding. In the section dealing with the "Services Needed to Facilitate the Process of Adjustment," a program is suggested for each type of community. The last section discusses the function of educational agencies in the adjustment process.

Throughout the bulletin, certain terminology is very disconcerting. For example, the words "change" and "adjustment" are used interchangeably, while in other places they appear to have different meanings. The term "adjustment" is never clearly defined—adjustment to and for what? might well be asked. There appear to be several values aimed for in the proposed adjustment process. Sometimes it appears to be more income; in other areas, it appears to be stability of people in relation to the land; and in still other places, some other value seems to be the goal of the suggested programs.

Much of the criticism above is undoubtedly due to the summary nature of this bulletin. This is a position in which many research people find themselves; namely, what should be written in a semipopular bulletin designed especially for "agency" people? The reviewer is in no less of a dilemma—what criteria should be used in appraising such a bulletin?

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NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Readers will note that the list of Contributing Editors previously reproduced on the inside cover of *Rural Sociology* no longer appears. The editors of the journal deeply appreciate the generous endorsement of each of the prominent sociologists who has consented in previous years to be listed as a contributing editor, but we believe it will be acknowledged that it is hardly proper to continue this listing indefinitely. The persons who have served as contributing editors are members of the Society, and we take pride in the knowledge that they, as all other members, will have high on their list of professional interests the publication of a journal of high standards. The retiring editorial staff takes occasion to use this note as an expression of gratitude to those who have been identified through the years as contributing editors.

CONSTITUTION OF

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY as Revised, September, 1951

Article I. Name. This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. Objects. The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. Affiliation. This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. Members. Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology, or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. Officers. The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a president-elect, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices. The president-elect of a given year will automatically become president the following year.

Article VI. Executive Committee. The executive committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The executive committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the executive committee.

Article VII. Elections. The president-elect, vice-president, and one other member of the executive committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting. The secretary-treasurer shall be appointed by the other members of the executive committee.

Article VIII. Annual Meeting. The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the executive committee.

Article IX. Amendments. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, provided that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting, and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

BYLAWS

Article I. Membership Dues.

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the executive committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be five dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publication of the society. Students of educational institutions may become members upon the payment of two dollars per annum.

Article II. Standing Committees.

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees—research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the executive committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The executive committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a program committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. Publications.

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official publication of the society, and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

Section 2. The board of editors of *Rural Sociology* shall consist of five elected members, one to be chosen each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the executive committee, and a managing editor by them. [sic] The board shall appoint an editor-in-chief.

Section 3. Three dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each active member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

Section 4. The board of editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The board of editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. Elections.

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate two candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary two months before the annual meeting. Not later than six weeks before the annual meeting, the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the two nominees for each position, which ballot, to be valid, shall be

returned to him not later than one month before the annual meeting in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who have received a majority of the ballots cast. The new officers shall assume office immediately following each annual meeting.

Article V. Vacancies.

The executive committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society. A representative of the Rural Sociological Society on the executive committee of the American Sociological Society shall be elected every third year in the same manner as the officers of the society.

Article VI. Amendments.

Amendments to these bylaws may be proposed by the executive committee or by any member of the society and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, *provided* that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting, and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Columbia University. Edmund deS. Brunner has become chairman and associate director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, following the resignation of Kingsley Davis as director. Professor Davis is associate director.

The University Seminar on Rural Life is working on two projects at present: social and cultural factors in rural welfare, and problems involved in achieving farm ownership by younger men under inflationary conditions.

Cornell University. Margaret Bright joined the Rural Sociology staff, December 1, for a period of five months. She will be associated with Donald G. Hay on a study of the use of health facilities by rural families.

E. O. Moe joined the staff, July 1. His first major project was an opinion study of farmers' attitudes toward government agricultural programs. The report on the study was incorporated in the State Agricultural Mobilization Committee's Farm Policy Re-

view report to the Secretary of Agriculture. A more extensive presentation of the findings has been prepared for a Cornell extension bulletin.

Olaf F. Larson is on leave of absence for the academic year at the University of Oslo, Norway. He is following up the work started by J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, two years ago.

Robert A. Polson has been granted a Fulbright award to spend a sabbatic year as lecturer in rural sociology at Silliman University, Dumaguete, Philippine Islands.

Bernice Scott will be on leave of absence to study at Columbia University the second semester.

Blanche Armstrong, rural health specialist, is a member of the Organizing Committee of the New York State Citizens' Health Council.

Philip Taietz is participating in the rural phase of the study of occupational retirement sponsored by the Cornell Social Science Research Center and financed by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc.

Mary Eva Duthie is executive secretary of the New York State Community Theatre Conference. The sixth annual meeting was held at Cornell, October 19-21, 1951, with an attendance of 138.

Several of the staff members will be teaching in the 1952 Cornell Summer School. W. W. Reeder will be teaching a field seminar in Understanding the Community. He will also teach a course on Leadership and Group Work, in the Extension Workers' Short Course. Philip Taietz will be teaching Social Services to Individuals, and Adjustment in the Middle and Later Years. James R. White will be teaching Rural Leadership and Human Relations Factors in Program Development. Peter Blau, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, will be teaching Introduction to the Study of Society, and Political Sociology. Fay Cooper Cole, professor emeritus of anthropology, University of Chicago, will be teaching People of Southeast Asia, and Cultural Anthropology.

Florida State University. Howard C. Busching returned to his duties at the university on June 15, after a year's leave of absence for advanced graduate study at Columbia University and the Philadelphia Marriage Clinic.

Dean Johnson is on leave for the academic year, 1951-52. He has a fellowship at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas. He is studying in the Marriage Counselling Program recently inaugurated under the direction of Robert Foster.

John R. Christ, who received his doctorate in sociology at Missouri in August, is filling Professor Johnson's place during the academic year, 1951-52.

During the summer of 1951, Edwin R. Hartz was at Duke University working on his dissertation.

Lester S. Pearl and Joseph Golden received their doctorates in sociology from North Carolina and Pennsylvania, respectively, at the June convocations.

Miss Dixie B. Jones joined the staff of the School of Social Welfare, September 1, 1951, as assistant professor. She has had wide and varied experience in social work and came directly to the university from the Family Service Society in Atlanta, Georgia. Miss Jones holds graduate degrees in sociology from Emory University and in social work from Tulane University.

William L. Leap and Gordon J. Aldridge are conducting studies in St. Cloud and Winter Park, Florida, communities in which there are large proportions of people in the older age group.

John Benjamin Beyrer has been elected president of the Florida Federation of Social Workers for 1951-52.

Miss Mildred Sikkema, executive secretary of the National Association of School Social Workers, conducted a three-week workshop for visiting teachers during the 1951 summer session.

University of Florida. T. Lynn Smith, professor of sociology, is one of the fellows of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for the year 1951-52. He is devoting the year to further study of the demographic situation in the various countries of Latin America and the preparation of the manuscript for a volume on that subject. From June 1 until late in September, he traveled extensively throughout the Latin-American countries assembling materials; and until May 31, 1952, he will be engaged at the University of Florida in the analysis and interpretation of the data that have been assembled.

While in Brazil, early in September, Professor Smith was awarded the medal of merit (Medalha do Merecimento) and accompanying scroll for services rendered in the promotion of greater understanding between the peoples of America, by the Uniao Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos of Sao Paulo. He was also given the diploma of Doctor Honoris Causa at that time by the University of Sao Paulo. Earlier, in 1946, a similar honor was conferred by the University of Brazil.

University of Illinois. Robert Dubin has received a research grant from the Mental Health Institute of the United States Public Health Service. The study will be concerned with mental health in industrial and commercial situations. The importance of the social structure of the factory and business group, and of attitudes of the workers toward each other and each other's jobs will be measured. Gilbert P. Davis and Ernest S. Lucy, doctoral candidates in sociology, will assist Professor Dubin in the study. Under terms of the grant from the government the project will run from February 1, 1952, through January 31, 1953.

Iowa State College. New instructors, research assistants, and research associates on the Sociology staff include Charles S. Chandler, M.A., Southern Illinois University; Norman B. Cleary, B.S., Iowa State College; George A. Freeman, M.S., Kansas State College; and Dwight M. Ransay, M.A., University of New Mexico.

Ray E. Wakeley has been granted a six-month leave of absence to work with the FAO, under their expanded Technical Assistance Program, as a resource person in rural sociology for Brazil. His specific duty is to train members of the Ministry of Agriculture in sociological approaches to rural problems, methods of conducting surveys, and other techniques of social research. Paul Jehlik, on loan from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, is directing migration seminars in Professor Wakeley's absence.

Iowa State College will be host to the annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, with Donald Fessler in charge of arrangements. The student section is to be handled by Robert Dimit.

Current research at Iowa State emphasizes the following areas: farmer cooperatives—member and community relations; social stratification; migration; and levels of living.

Walter Lunden has completed research on "Socio-Legal Norms of Delinquents and Non-delinquents," and "Altruism and Antagonism Among Prisoners."

J. B. Gittler is supervising a project sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, on the possibilities of intergroup education in extension in the United States. Charles Robbins and Professor Gittler have completed their research on "The Awareness of Prejudice."

A recent visitor to the department has been Finn Isaksons of Denmark, who has spent six weeks with members of the de-

partment, surveying teaching and research methods in sociology, and seeking new approaches, which he might apply in sociological and related research in Scandinavia.

Kansas Wesleyan University. Starting in the fall semester, the Department of Sociology began offering a course in Rural Sociological Theory.

The establishment of a Rural Life Institute is being jointly planned by the department and the Division of University Services. The department will also offer a major in rural sociology.

Louisiana State University. After two decades of research on Louisiana's population, Homer L. Hitt of Louisiana State University and T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida have completed the manuscript for the comprehensive demographic treatise, *The People of Louisiana*. The Louisiana State University Press has set the publication date of this volume for early 1952. Professor Hitt also contributed two original essays and collaborated on several other papers in the recently released Dryden Press book by T. Lynn Smith and C. A. McMahan, entitled *The Sociology of Urban Life*. In his position as secretary of the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Hitt has had the responsibility of working up the program for the forty-ninth annual convention held at Atlanta, Georgia, February 3-5, 1952. He also accepted an invitation to participate in the second annual Southern Conference of Gerontology held at the University of Florida, January 28 and 29, 1952. There he presented a paper entitled "America's Aged at Mid-Century: Number, Distribution, and Change."

Rudolf Heberle, serving this year as president of the Southern Sociological Society, recently completed a pioneering volume in political sociology, entitled *Social Movements*, published in late 1951 by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. In collaboration with Dudley S. Hall and under the auspices of the Displaced Persons Commission of Louisiana and the Institute of Population Research at Louisiana State University, he has also published a monograph entitled *New Americans: A Study of Displaced Persons in Louisiana and Mississippi*. His paper, "Principles of Political Ecology," has been selected for publication in *Soziologische Forschung in Unserer Zeit*, in honor of Leopold Von Wiese's 75th anniversary. Heberle also has been appointed visiting professor

at the University of North Carolina during the first term of the 1952 Summer School.

The third edition of Marion B. Smith's popular text, *Survey of Social Science*, has recently been released by Houghton Mifflin Company. Currently, Professor Smith is serving as president of the Southwest Council on Family Relations, vice-president and program chairman of the Southwestern Sociological Society, and chairman of the section on Teaching of Sociology, of the Southern Sociological Society. In the latter capacity, he is heading up a survey of the programs of southern colleges and universities for the teaching of marriage and family relationships.

Alvin L. Bertrand has recently returned from Texarkana, Arkansas, where he participated in the meeting of the Southwestern Land Tenure Committee. He discussed the effects of agricultural mechanization on tenure arrangements in the region. He has been appointed to serve as chairman of the Social Science Section of the Louisiana Academy of Sciences for the current year. Professor Bertrand and Paul H. Price are both active in the rapidly expanding English Language and Orientation Program for foreign students at Louisiana State University.

University of Minnesota. F. Stuart Chapin resigned in June as chairman of the Department of Sociology, and E. D. Monachesi was named to succeed him. Chapin will continue his teaching and devote more time to research. He spent the month of December in Paris for UNESCO, assisting in the organization of an International Social Science Research Council. Arnold Rose is spending the year in Paris on a Fulbright fellowship. S. K. Weinberg of Roosevelt College is teaching Rose's courses.

Douglas Marshall is acting chairman of the North Central Region technical committee on the study of the region's population. The committee met in January at Urbana.

Mississippi Southern College. John N. Burrus, recently of the University of Florida, has been appointed head of the Department of Sociology.

University of Missouri. A grant of more than \$51,000 has been made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Rural Sociology Department for the purpose of making a scientific study of the rural church as a social institution in Missouri. The project is expected to run four years. The work will be under the general supervision of C. E. Lively, chairman of the department.

Lawrence M. Hepple, associate professor, will be in charge of operations. Others associated with the project are Vladimir Hartman and Cecil L. Gregory.

University of New Mexico. Ezra W. Geddes has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Northwestern University. Thomas D. Eliot has returned from a year in Norway on a Fulbright and has resumed his teaching duties.

Robert F. Winch has received a grant-in-aid from the National Institute of Mental Health to finance his study of the theory of complementary needs in mate selection. Oliver J. B. Kerner, Virginia Ktsanes, and Sandra Oreck have been appointed research associates on this project. Kerner has also been appointed an instructor in the department and is teaching one course in the winter quarter. Professor Winch's book, *The Modern Family*, was published by Henry Holt in January.

Kimball Young, who was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship last spring, has a leave of absence for the winter and spring quarters. He is located at the Huntington Library and is working on his book on Mormon polygamy. A complete revision of Professor Young's *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* was published in February.

Paul K. Hatt is acting chairman of the department during Professor Young's absence. Last summer he participated in the Inter-University Seminar on Stratification, at Ohio State University. This seminar was sponsored and supported by the Social Science Research Council. The Free Press has recently published a *Reader in Urban Sociology*, edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr.

Thomas Ktsanes, who taught last year at Indiana University, has received a research fellowship from the United States Public Health Service.

In conjunction with the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, the Department of Sociology sponsored a two-day conference in November, dealing with the problems of interdisciplinary courses in the social sciences. Participants from sixteen colleges and universities took part in the discussion.

Oklahoma A. & M. College. James A. Tarver joined the staff as assistant professor of rural sociology at the beginning of the current year. He will devote his time to teaching and research, largely in the community field.

Pennsylvania State College. The annual Local Leadership and Program Planning Conference, organized by M. E. John several years ago, was held from January 28 through February 1. Emory J. Brown, instructor in rural sociology, served as chairman of the conference. Besides this conference, the department offers an annual short course for ministers and another for bankers.

Lauris B. Whitman has been appointed instructor in rural sociology. Samuel W. Blizzard has been promoted to associate professor of sociology and rural sociology. Emory J. Brown was on leave last year, while doing graduate work at Michigan State College.

The college recently organized a Social Science Research Center. Several research projects are sponsored by the center. Sociologists who serve on the Board of Governors of the center are M. E. John, Jessie Bernard, M. A. Mook, and Samuel W. Blizzard.

Purdue University. Gerald R. Leslie was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Ohio State University, December 20. His dissertation is entitled "Attitudes Toward the United Nations."

Reuben Hill, of the University of North Carolina, was guest lecturer before classes and a special seminar on family research, November 29.

Utah State Agricultural College. R. W. Roskelley, chairman of the Department of Sociology, is now in Iran on assignment for the U. S. Departments of Agriculture and State. He will serve for a two-year period as community organization specialist with the agricultural technicians.

Don C. Carter is acting chairman in the absence of Dr. Roskelley.

William A. DeHart has joined the staff, coming here from the University of Maryland where he was engaged half time in extension and half time in research. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin.

Therel R. Black, of the department staff, has received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute. W. E. Garnett, pioneer rural sociologist of the Agricultural Experiment Station, has been honored as "Man of the Year in Service to Virginia Agriculture" by the *Progressive Farmer* magazine published at Raleigh, N. C. Professor Garnett is featured in the January issue of the publication.

Donald Fessler, of Iowa State College, has been appointed associate extension sociologist in the Agricultural Extension Service, to work with extension sociologist B. L. Hummel.

W. W. Eure, rural youth specialist, is conducting an educational and recreational program with 121 active older rural youth groups throughout Virginia.

Leland B. Tate is giving almost full time to teaching and writing. He reports recent sociology registrations approximately ten times as numerous as when he came to Virginia Tech, and yearly averages of about thirty majors in rural sociology.

University of Washington. Robert E. L. Faris has been appointed editor of the *American Sociological Review*.

Frank Miyamoto has been appointed book review editor of the *American Sociological Review*.

Charles E. Bowerman, Julius A. Jahn, Delbert C. Miller, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence C. Schrag have been appointed to the editorial staff of the *American Sociological Review*.

University of Wisconsin. George W. Hill has resigned to accept an appointment with the Venezuelan Government; he will work on population and colonization problems. William H. Sewell, chairman of the university's Social Science Research Committee, is devoting half time to the organization of a social science research program at the university. Eugene A. Wilkening, on leave from North Carolina State College, has accepted a visiting appointment to teach courses in Research Methods, Rural Social Structure, and The Rural Family during the 1951-52 academic year. He will also conduct an exploratory study on the relationship of family organization and values to the acceptance of improved farm practices. Charles E. Ramsey has been appointed acting instructor; he is devoting full time to a cooperative study with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on the retirement plans of farm families.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Federal Security Agency: Office of Education. The Office of Education will make a study this year of the qualifications and preparation of those needed to teach the nation's nearly 5,000,000 school-age exceptional children. The study has been made possible by a grant of \$25,500 from the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Leonard Mayo is director of the association.

The study will be directed by Dr. Ro-main Mackie, specialist on schools for the physically handicapped. She will be counselled by two committees, one a national committee of leaders in special education from various parts of the United States, and the other an Office of Education policy committee.

Chief emphases of the study will be upon the qualifications of teachers of exceptional children, and the curricula of colleges offering courses for such teachers. Questions such as the following will be under consideration: What makes an effective teacher in this field? What special functions do such teachers perform? Which of these functions are common with those of other teachers? Which are distinctive? How can state and local standards contribute to the development of effective teachers? What is the relationship between standards for certification of teachers and opportunities for preparation?

The study is expected to extend over a period of one year. Progress reports and publications presenting study findings will be issued from time to time during the year.

Human Resources Research Institute. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. C. A. McMahan is on leave of absence from the University of Georgia and is now working in the Manpower Directorate of the institute.

Danish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The Social Science Adviser to the Ministry, Henning Friis, is in charge of research considered necessary for the central planning of legislative and administrative measures in the field of social welfare. Projects initiated or sponsored by the Ministry are financed out of the Exchequer. Methods of inquiry vary, and include the utilization of available statistical data, the circulation of special questionnaires, and the undertaking of case studies. Staff is generally appointed on an *ad hoc* basis and includes economists and statisticians, medical doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers.

The following research projects have been carried out or are presently in progress: (1) housing conditions of large families in Copenhagen, (2) social and economic conditions of widows and unmarried mothers in Copenhagen, (3) inquiry into the various aspects of German troops' sexual relations with Danish subjects, (4) the Danish youth inquiries, (5) a study of the behaviour problems of 200 maladjusted children and

juveniles under the guardianship of the child welfare boards, (6) a study of the women who have requested a legal abortion, (7) experimental study on family counselling, (8) the causes of poverty, (9) a study of the workhouse clientele, and (10) effects of shift-work upon health.

The Social Science Adviser will be pleased to furnish further information concerning these projects, or to enter into exchange arrangements. Interested social scientists should correspond with Henning Friis, the Adviser in Social Science, Danish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

Community Service, Inc. The date for the ninth annual Conference on the Small Community has been announced for July 3-6, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Arthur E. Morgan visited St. Helena Island, South Carolina, in December, at the request of Penn School, to consult with leaders there concerning the economic problems of this unique island community. He also visited the 1200-acre farm near Gold Hill, North Carolina, run cooperatively by the five Culp brothers, an account of which appears in the January-February *Community Service News*.

Representatives of "intentional communities" (otherwise known as experimental or cooperative communities) met, February 1-3, at Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, discussed methods of pooling their resources through joint buying and selling and a credit union, and heard Henrik Infield report on his recent study of the French communities of work. Plans were begun for further sessions to be held at Yellow Springs after the Small Community Conference, July 3-6.

Congregational Christian Churches: Council for Social Action. Reverend Shirley E. Greene, Agricultural Relations Secretary, is now serving on a half-time basis as executive secretary of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

NCALL is an information and clearing-house organization for persons and groups concerned with problems of low-income farm families and agricultural workers.

Carnegie Corporation of New York. The following grant was made recently by the Carnegie Corporation:

\$75,000, payable \$15,000 a year over five years beginning with 1951-52, to the Hartford Seminary Foundation to strengthen foreign area instruction in the Kennedy School of Missions.

The Kennedy School of Missions serves major Protestant foreign mission boards of this country and Canada and some in Europe. The students of the school are preparing for careers in educational, agricultural, medical, and evangelical work overseas. The school is interdenominational and is the only graduate school of its kind in the country.

Interested persons may write to: Mr. Robert Parsons, Dean, Kennedy School of Missions, The Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Connecticut.

SHORT COURSES AND WORKSHOPS

National Training Laboratory in Group Development. After five years of pioneering research and experience in the field of training leaders in the skills and understandings necessary for developing effective groups, the National Training Laboratory in Group Development (NTLGD) will hold a four-week summer laboratory session at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, from June 22 thru July 18.

During the past five years, three-week laboratory sessions were held. The four-week laboratory plan results from increased knowledge of group development and methods of training in human relations.

Approximately 100 applicants will be accepted for this session. Persons involved in problems of working with groups in a training, consultant, or leadership capacity in any field are invited to apply.

The purpose of the training program is to sensitize leaders in all fields to the existence and nature of the dynamic forces operating in the small group. The work is organized so that each trainee group of 15-20 persons is enabled to use its own experience as a laboratory example of group development. Group skills of analysis and leadership are practiced through the use of role-playing and observer techniques. Concentrated clinics give training in the skills of the consultant and the trainer in human relations skills. There is also opportunity to explore the role of the group in the larger social environment in which it exists.

The NTLGD is sponsored by the Division of Adult Education Service of the NEA, and the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, with the cooperation of other educational institutions. Its year-round research and consultation program is supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For further information, write to the NTLGD at 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Emory University Town and Country School for Rural Ministers. The eighth annual Town and Country School will be held July 28-August 14, 1952. It will be in the nature of a workshop on Town and Country Church and Community Problems and Programs.

Harold F. Kaufman, chairman of the Division of Sociology and Rural Life at Mississippi State College, will be the leader. Outstanding pastors and agriculturalists will take part.

Earl D. C. Brewer, professor of sociology and rural church at Emory University, is the director of the school.

EDWARD L. BERNAYS AWARD FOR 1952

In an attempt to encourage original research on the effects of modern media of communication on the people and institutions of the United States, the American Sociological Society will present the Edward L. Bernays Foundation Radio-Television Award to the individual or group contributing the best piece of research on the effects of radio and/or television on American society.

Presentation of the award, a \$1,000 U. S. Government bond given by the foundation, will be made at the society's 1952 annual meeting in September at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The contest will be open to social scientists here and abroad, and will be governed by the following rules:

Any individual or group wishing to compete for the award must submit, in duplicate, a report on the research, on or before June 15, 1952.

Both published and unpublished studies may be submitted. Research not fully completed, for which a report with preliminary findings is available, may be submitted.

Research may cover radio or television, or both.

The Committee of Judges will evaluate relevant research studies on the basis of the competence with which they have been designed and carried out, their implications for social policy and social action, and the significance of their findings.

All reports should be submitted as far in advance of the closing date as possible to the chairman of the Committee of Judges, Professor F. Stuart Chapin, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

Inquiries for further information should be sent to Matilda White Riley, executive officer of the American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

The Committee of Judges consists of: F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; Robert N. Ford, American Telephone and

Telegraph Company; Herbert Hyman, Columbia University; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton University; Samuel A. Stouffer, Harvard University.

The award was made possible by a gift to the American Sociological Society from the Edward L. Bernays Foundation, founded by Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel.

RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology

by CHARLES P. LOOMIS, Head of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and Director of Social Research Service, Michigan State College; and J. ALLAN BEEGLE, Michigan State College.

- Based on a large amount of original research, this book treats rural social groups from the viewpoint of the student who will later work in or with such groups.
- Unique in the employment of social systems as a unifying frame of reference. Integrates findings from fields of rural sociology, sociometry, applied anthropology, and social theory.
- Rural life is treated in terms of seven clear-cut elements: family and informal groups — locality groups — social strata — religious groups — educational groups — political and occupational groups — and rural service agencies.
- Graphical materials are used throughout the book to facilitate teaching and understanding of materials otherwise found complicated.

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